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HISTORY

OF THE

CATHOLIC CHURCH OF SCOTLAND


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HISTORY

OF THE

Catholic Church of Scotland

FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY
TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

ALPHONS BELLESHEIM, D.D.

CANON OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS,

BY

D. OSWALD HUNTER BLAIR, O.S.B.

MONK OF FORT AUGUSTUS

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. IV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES THE FIRST TO THE RESTORATION OF THE SCOTTISH HIERARCHY, A.D. 1625–1878

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCXC

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

FEW words are necessary in presenting to the English reader the concluding volume of the *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland.* Among the friendly criticisms which have appeared on the preceding portions of the work, not a few have dwelt with special commendation on the proofs of original research which they have been kind enough to discover in its pages. Notwithstanding these compliments, no one can be better aware than the translator that the greater part of Dr Bellesheim's carefully compiled work has no pretensions to rank as original. The originality of a subject, an eminent writer[1] has told us, lies in its treatment; and the German historian may perhaps so far claim the distinction in question, as having been the first to produce, chiefly from materials already at hand, a

[1] Disraeli.

readable, consecutive, and, it is believed, trustworthy history of Scottish Catholicism. Original history, in the strict sense of the term, it certainly is not; and the translator deems it the more necessary to make this disclaimer, inasmuch as the process of translation has made doubly apparent the great indebtedness of the author to non-Catholic writers—an indebtedness which, writing for German readers, he has not in every case thought it necessary to acknowledge.

The above remarks, it must be said, apply chiefly to those portions of the work which have already appeared, and which are principally concerned with the pre-Reformation period of the Scottish Church. In the present volume, which covers the darkest and most gloomy epoch in her history, the author has, as will be seen, availed himself to much greater extent of hitherto unexplored sources of information. No one who has the courage to attack the vast *indigesta moles* of correspondence and reports which are buried in the archives of Propaganda at Rome, should be refused a tribute of gratitude from students of the ecclesiastical history of the last three centuries; and Dr Bellesheim has certainly earned that gratitude by his labours in disinterring the interesting documents which will be found in the Appendix to the present volume. It is on these documents, which the translator has thought it best to reproduce in an English dress, rather than in the

Latin or Italian originals, that a great part of the narrative in the text has been based; and it is to them that it owes its interest as an undoubtedly authentic record of the Catholic Church in this country, at a time when, under the grinding pressure of the penal laws, she was apparently all but extinct. In the freedom which the tolerance, or indifference, of our own days has accorded to every form of religious belief, it is hard to realise the fierce fanaticism that prevailed in Scotland little more than a century ago: when the clergy of the ancient Church were hunted down like wild beasts among the glens and mountains, for no other crime than ministering to the spiritual wants of their flocks, and when so zealous and enlightened a prelate as Bishop Hay deemed it necessary, for prudence' sake, to prohibit so much as the singing of a hymn in the miserable cabins which then did duty for Catholic chapels. The letters addressed by the Scottish vicars-apostolic to the Holy See partake to some extent of the inevitable formality of all official reports: the writers employed a language not their own, and alike in the matter and manner of their narratives there may be traced signs of that cautious reticence in which the adherents of a proscribed religion were forced to shroud every external manifestation of their faith. But the details which those narratives give are full of instruction; and they will be perused with interest, not only by those who in happier times pro-

fess the same faith which animated those devoted pastors, but by all who are interested in the religious history of their country.

OSWALD HUNTER BLAIR, O.S.B.

St Benedict's Abbey,
Fort Augustus, N.B., *November* 1890.

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HISTORY

OF THE

CATHOLIC CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SCOTLAND UNDER CHARLES I. AND THE COMMONWEALTH (1625-1660).

Accession of Charles I., March 1625.

King James expired on the 27th of March 1625, and on the 31st of the same month his son Charles was proclaimed King of Scotland at the Market-Cross of Edinburgh. During his reign the war between the opposing Protestant parties in Scotland continued to rage with unabated fierceness; and the part which the monarch took in the contest undoubtedly contributed to hasten his downfall.

Church policy of the new monarch.

No sooner was he established on the throne, than Charles proceeded to manifest his strong predilection for Episcopalianism, by endeavouring to

recover possession of the church-lands, in order to endow the Scotch Episcopal Church. Failing in this, he issued a commission in 1627 to receive the impropriated tithes and benefices, in order to provide incomes for the clergy. Such measures, although in full accordance with the statutes which had established the Episcopalian system in Scotland, were productive of general discontent; and this was increased by the liturgical innovations which the king and his primate (Laud) were introducing into the Anglican worship, and the tendency to Arminianism—striking at the great Calvinistic doctrine of predestination to damnation—observed in the Anglican Church. In the year 1633 Charles paid a visit to the country of his birthplace; but although he was received with respect by his Scottish subjects, they were repelled rather than attracted by the melancholy sternness of his character, so different from the homely good-humour of their late sovereign. The unjust trial of Lord Balmerino in the following year, on a charge of treason, merely for being in possession of a petition against the royal measures, still further alienated Charles from the people of Scotland. Nor was his unpopularity decreased by their knowledge of his quarrels with the English Parliament, and with Elliot, Pym, and other leaders of the patriotic party, or by the news which reached Scotland of the despotism of Strafford in Ireland, and the Puritans pilloried and

Visit of Charles to Scotland.

banished in large numbers to Holland and America.

Collision between the king and the Presbyterians.

Under these circumstances, a collision between the royal authority on the one hand and Presbyterian fanaticism on the other was clearly inevitable. The immediate cause of the final rupture was the determination of the king to introduce a liturgy into the public worship. It must be remembered that Charles regarded this question in a different aspect from that of his father, whose principal motive in the establishment of Episcopalianism had been the belief that it would strengthen the power of the Crown. To Charles, on the other hand, the Episcopal system was an essential part of his religious faith; and it is to this conviction that we must ascribe the pertinacity with which he urged the acceptance of his liturgical views, and his utter regardlessness of the opposition which they excited. The storm broke in Edinburgh on July 23, 1637, on the occasion of the first introduction of the obnoxious service-book into the Kirk. The Presbyterian leaders had already prepared for the battle, and had, by the most violent invectives against Prelacy, inflamed the feelings of their followers to the utmost pitch of excitement.

Introduction of the "Service-Book."

Riot in St Giles' Church, July 23, 1637.

On the Sunday appointed for the inauguration of the new liturgy, the church of St Giles was filled to overflowing. Ranged on the side of the Episcopalians appeared the Archbishops of St

Andrews and Glasgow, the Bishop of Edinburgh, and other prelates, the lords of the Privy Council, the judges of the Court of Session, and the magistrates of Edinburgh. The Presbyterians were represented by a few ministers, and by a large muster of female enthusiasts, fully prepared to do battle for the cause. Dean Hannay, vested in a surplice, mounted the pulpit and began to read the prescribed prayers; but his voice was instantly drowned in a tumult of shouting, hissing, hand-clapping, and other discordant noises. Such epithets as "thief, devil's get, crafty fox, antichristian wolf," were hurled at the Episcopalian clergy; and the climax of the disturbance was reached by a woman named Jenny Geddes seizing a stool and flinging it at the head of the unfortunate dean, the missile being followed by a shower of Bibles, Testaments, and psalm-books.[1] The mob then rushed outside, broke the windows of the church with stones, and continued to assail their opponents with every possible insult and abuse. The bishop was seized by a party of infuriated women, thrown down, and rolled in the mire. The fact that no punishment of any kind appears to have been inflicted on the perpetrators

[1] A brass plate was erected in St Giles' in 1883, bearing the following inscription: "To James Hannay, D.D., Dean of the Cathedral, 1634-39. He was the First and the Last who read the Service-Book in this Church. This memorial is erected in happier times by his Descendant."

of these outrages, shows on which side was the general feeling throughout the country.[1]

Subscription of the National Covenant.

The culpable weakness displayed by the authorities with reference to these extraordinary excesses could not but result in the material strengthening of the Presbyterian influence. A new covenant was now drawn up, and was ordered to be read in every kirk in the kingdom: it was known as the National Covenant, and was framed by four committees (called the *Tables*, and representing the nobles, gentry, ministers, and burgesses respectively) which met in Edinburgh towards the close of the year 1637. Under the pressure of threats of excommunication in this world and eternal damnation in the next, the people were called upon to subscribe this document, which declared open war upon "Popery, Prelacy, and all their supporters and adherents." The populace were excited by the violence of the preachers to a condition of religious fanaticism little short of madness; and Catholics and Episcopalians were alike denounced as criminals outside the protection of the law. The Protestant prelates, who had succeeded to

[1] Gordon of Rothiemay, *Hist. of Scots Affairs*, 1637-1641 (Spalding), vol. i. p. 57. *Brief and true Relation of the Broil*, &c. (Appendix to Rothes' Relation of Proceedings), p. 201. Wodrow, in his *Analecta*, throws a doubt on the identity of the heroine who "cast the first stool at the bishop," and assigns that honour to one Mrs Mean. "Many of the lasses," he adds, "were prentices in disguise, for they threw stools to a great length."—Translator.

the dignities and property of the Catholic episcopate, were now in their turn proclaimed to be guilty of "drunkenness, impurity, gaming, profanation of the Sabbath, bribery, simony, dishonesty, perjury, oppression, adultery, and incest." Such was the result of the king's obstinate determination to impose his ecclesiastical views on his Scottish subjects. "Nineteen-twentieths of the people," observes Chambers,[1] "were in their hearts opposed to his measures; and now he had given them occasion to declare themselves, and enter at all hazards upon a course of resistance."

Attempted compromise by the king.

Alarmed at length by the violent feeling which his ill-judged measures had excited in Scotland, Charles in the autumn of 1638 sought to calm it by offering to withdraw the unpopular service-book, and suspend the jurisdiction of the episcopal courts as well as the observance of the Perth articles. But matters had now gone too far for compromise; and however disposed the majority of the nation might have been to accept the concessions offered, the General Assembly would hear of no half measures.

They met at Glasgow in November, and in spite of the protest of the bishops, and the act of the royal commissioner declaring the Assembly dissolved, they continued to sit, and passed a

[1] *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 3.

resolution abolishing not only the obnoxious liturgy and canons, but episcopacy itself. This was confirmed at the next meeting of the Assembly in the following year; and meanwhile the Covenanters, not content with defending their own borders, mustered a powerful army, crossed the Tweed, and advanced into England. The resistance of the English Parliament to the royal measures, and the arraignment on a charge of treason of the king's two chief advisers, Laud and Strafford, served to confirm the Scotch in the attitude they had taken up; nor did his conciliatory visit to Edinburgh in August 1641 succeed in reconciling them to his ecclesiastical policy. Shortly after his return to London the popular party in Parliament presented him with the famous Remonstrance, which finally resulted in the raising of the royal standard at Nottingham, and the subjection of the country to the horrors of civil war.

The Assembly abolishes episcopacy,

and appeals to arms.

The sympathies of the Scotch were naturally enlisted in the cause of the Parliamentary party, which accordingly, in August 1643, entered into what was called a Solemn League and Covenant with them, one of the conditions being the levying of a new Scotch army, which entered England in the following winter, and materially assisted in gaining the victory of Marston Moor. The chivalrous efforts of Montrose in Scotland did not

The Solemn League and Covenant.

succeed in counteracting the blow thus inflicted on the royal cause, which was rendered desperate by his subsequent defeats at Naseby and Newbury. Charles was rash enough to place himself in the hands of the Presbyterians; and the latter, fearing lest the possession of the royal person might bring them into collision with their powerful neighbours, surrendered him to the English Parliament. Charles persistently refused to concede the demands of his enemies. A force of his adherents in Scotland, under the Duke of Hamilton, crossed the Border in July 1648, but were routed by the Parliamentary troops, led by Oliver Cromwell himself. Cromwell proceeded as far as Edinburgh, where the Presbyterians were now in power, and then returned in triumph to London. The sequel need not be dwelt on here. In January 1649, Charles was tried and sentenced for the alleged crime of making war on his subjects, and on the 30th of the month was beheaded at Whitehall. It is impossible not to see in his tragical fate the direct consequence of the misguided zeal with which he had endeavoured to thrust his ecclesiastical views upon his Scottish subjects.

Charles surrendered by the Presbyterians to his enemies.

Trial and execution of King Charles, January 1649.

The condition of the Catholics of Scotland under Charles I. and Cromwell can only be described as truly pitiable. A contemporary witness declared, in a report sent to Urban VIII., that the lot of the Catholics in the reign of

Scottish Catholics under Charles I. and Cromwell.

Elizabeth had been a happy one in comparison.[1] Charles, on the one hand, sanctioned the relentless execution of the penal statutes, with the idea of thus disarming the opposition of the Kirk to his liturgical innovations; while Cromwell, on the other, seems to have continued the policy of persecution out of sheer hatred to the Catholic religion. No sooner had Charles ascended the throne, than the rumour began to be spread that he meditated some radical change in the constitution of the Kirk. A proclamation was immediately issued denouncing this report as mischievous and groundless, and declaring the king's entire satisfaction with the ecclesiastical arrangements in Scotland. By way of removing any doubt as to the soundness of his principles, the Privy Council ordered lists to be drawn up of the Catholics throughout the country;[2] and a second proclamation was shortly afterwards issued, commanding all the king's subjects, "of whatsoever rank or degree, to conform themselves to the

Enforcement of the penal laws.

[1] *Cod. Casanat.*, X. v. 36. "Brevis eorum descriptio, quæ in Anglia adversus Catholicos gesta sunt a ruptis cum Hispano conjugii fœderibus, et cum Gallo iniri cœptis per Marcum Antonium cum in Urbem rediisset Tuæ Sanctitati fideliter repræsentata. Optabiliora longe tempora Elizabethæ, cum subinde Catholicorum vena secarentur. . . . Quæ refero non tam auribus, quam oculis hausi."

[2] One of these lists is published in the *Spalding Miscellany*, vol. ii., Preface, p. liv-lvi. The following note is affixed: "These ar the names of the most scandalous and irregular onlie of the adversars of the treuth, surceasing to sett doun the great number of otheris (and speciallie of the female sex) that hes maid the lyk defectioun from the treuth."

public profession of the true religion, prohibiting the exercise of any contrary profession, under the pains contained in the laws made thereanent." The harbouring of Catholic priests was forbidden under the severest penalties; and all parents who were having their children educated abroad were strictly charged to have them brought home before a certain day.[1] Nor did King Charles confine his anti-Catholic measures to Scotland. In the summer of 1627, whilst the General Assembly in Edinburgh was engaged in deploring the "increase of Papistry and sin," Charles in London was signalising his Protestant zeal by banishing, contrary to his express and solemn engagement to Henrietta Maria and her royal brother,[2] the French clergy who had come to England in attendance on his queen.

The year 1628 was marked by a still more stringent application of the penal laws against the unfortunate Catholics of Scotland. For some time past they had ventured to show themselves with a little more boldness than formerly; and it was even said that certain pasquinades written against the Protestant bishop of Aberdeen, and posted on the door of his own cathedral, were attributable to some among their number. The Privy Council were well aware that the king's

[1] *Privy Council Records* (Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 5).

[2] See *ante*, vol. iii. pp. 431, 493.

ecclesiastical innovations had already rendered him highly unpopular in Scotland, and they did not wish the feeling increased by any appearance of royal sympathy with Popery. Orders were accordingly issued for the appearance before them of a number of Catholics, both priests and laymen, in the northern provinces—the Marquis of Huntly being especially blamed for the protection which he afforded to these disaffected persons. Among those cited to appear were Robert Bisset of Lessendrum; Alexander Gordon of Drumquhaill; Gordon of Tilliesoul; Adam Smith, chamberlain of the Enzie, and his wife Barbara; Malcolm Laing; and Adam Strachan, chamberlain to the Earl of Aboyne. They are charged with indifference under the "fearful sentence of excommunication," and are said to be encouraged in their rebellion by the marquis. The recital which follows includes the names of Alexander Irving, burgess of Aberdeen; Thomas Menzies of Balgounie; John Spence, notary at Pewsmill; Alexander Leslie, brother to the Laird of Pitcaple; Francis Leslie, brother to Capuchin Leslie; William Seton of Blair; Thomas Laing, goldsmith, burgess of Aberdeen. These persons and others are declared to have "proudly and contemptuandly remained under excommunication this long time bygane," and charged with "hunting and seeking all occasion where they may have the exercise of their false religion; for which purpose

Citation of Catholics before the Privy Council.

they are avowed resetters of Jesuits, seminary and mass priests, accompanying them through the country, armed with unlawful weapons." A command follows to Huntly, as Sheriff-Principal of Aberdeen, and to Lord Lovat, Sheriff of Elgin and Forres, to search for these evil-doers, and deliver them to justice.[1]

Huntly and the Scottish Catholics.

The Privy Council appear to have been sufficiently conscious of the false position in which they placed themselves, by ordering Huntly, himself of course well known as a leading Catholic, to make inquisition for his co-religionists. We find them accordingly, on December 6, 1628, addressing a letter to the king, in which they state their belief that the late increase of Popery and growing insolence of the Papists arises from the fact of the execution of the penal laws being in the hands of notorious professors of the same faith, whose position and influence were such as to overawe inferior officials, however zealous. The king is consequently prayed to exclude from his Council all persons suspected of Popery: meanwhile, orders have been given to the sheriffs to "apprehend the delinquents if they can or dare." When the day came for the appearance of the accused, Huntly declared, through his deputy, that the wintry weather had prevented him from

[1] Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, vol. ii. p. 22. For a list of the Catholic clergy whose apprehension was ordered at the same time, see *post*, p. 37.

carrying out the commission intrusted to him. The Council refused to accept the excuse, and denounced the marquis as a rebel.[1]

Issue of a second proclamation.

The first proclamation having proved abortive, the Privy Council, on June 18, 1629, issued a second one against the persons already mentioned and some others, including Sir John Campbell of Caddell. They are charged with "continuing obdurate against Kirk and law, going about as if nothing were amiss, and enjoying possession of their houses, goods, and gear, which properly belong to his Majesty as escheat." It is accordingly ordained that officers-at-arms "pass, pursue, and take the said rebels their houses, remove them and their families forth thereof, and keep and detain the same in his Majesty's name;" and all neighbours are commanded to assist in carrying out these orders. Special zeal is ordered to be shown in apprehending all who receive or harbour priests in their houses; the proclamation adding that the laws on this point are "eluded by the wives of persons repute and esteemed to be sound in religion, who, pretending misknowledge of the actions of their wives, think to liberate themselves, as if they were not to answer for their wives' doings." The husband, in such cases, it is declared, is always to be responsible for the wife's act.[2]

[1] Chambers, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 23. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Religious test imposed on Government officials.

In order still further to convince his Scottish Council of the sincerity of his religious zeal, Charles did not hesitate to go a step further, and to convert a solemn religious ordinance into an instrument of inquisition. An order was issued that all councillors, judges, advocates, and other Government officials should forthwith partake of the Communion in the Chapel of Holyrood; and that they should repeat this annually, on pain of being suspected of leanings to Popery. Accordingly, in the month of July 1628, the sacrament was duly administered, "by sound of trumpet," to a large number of the officials of the State. Such as abstained from obeying the summons were made before long to feel the weight of the royal displeasure. "Understanding," wrote the king to the Council, on November 6, "that some popishly affected have neglected this course, we, out of our care and affection for the maintenance of the professed religion, are pleased to will and require that you remove from our Council-table all such who are disobedient in that kind." [1]

Severe administration of the penal statutes.

Recourse was had to the Privy Council in order to obtain, if possible, some measure of relief for the imprisoned Catholics; but a deaf ear was turned to all such petitions. "None," it was ordained, "shall be relieved out of ward, but upon obedience and conformity to the true religion, or else upon their voluntary offer of

[1] Chambers, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 25.

banishment forth of his Majesty's whole dominions." The severity with which the penal laws were enforced at this time by Kirk and Council is testified by the treatment of a prominent Catholic lady, the Marchioness of Abercorn. The warmth and zeal which she had displayed in the cause of her co-religionists had resulted in her apprehension and close confinement in the Tolbooth at Edinburgh. Here her health, already much impaired, had suffered greatly from the damp and unwholesome cell assigned to her, so that we are told that she now "found a daily decay and weakness in her person." It was represented to the king that a change of air and scene was imperatively necessary to save the prisoner's life. Reluctant to do anything against the authority of the Kirk, and at the same time unwilling that the marchioness should be brought to the last extremity, Charles gave her permission to repair to the baths of Bristol, but only on condition that she made no attempt to appear at Court, and undertook to return to Edinburgh on her recovery. Lady Abercorn, however, did not avail herself of the royal indulgence; and it does not appear to have been until she had suffered full three years' imprisonment, that she was at length licensed to return to her home at Paisley—and even then only with the stipulation that she should not receive at her house "Thomas Algeo nor no Jesuits," and should moreover appear at Edin-

Harsh treatment of Lady Abercorn.

burgh when called upon, under a penalty of five thousand marks.[1]

Confiscation of property of Catholics.

Such of the Catholics as quitted Scotland, preferring a life of exile to the betrayal of their religion and conscience, naturally found themselves greatly embarrassed as to their future means of subsistence. They accordingly petitioned to have some portion at least of their confiscated property restored to them; and the king, we are told, "out of his gracious bounty and clemency, in hope of their timely reclaiming," was pleased to order that the forfeited estates should be divided into three portions, of which two were to belong to the Crown, and the remaining third to the original owners.

Measures taken to ensure Protestant education of children.

One of the principal means by which it was hoped to secure the extirpation of the old religion, was the ordinance which provided for the education of the children of prominent Catholics under Protestant tutors. Even the powerful Huntly, when he appeared before the Council in December 1628, to excuse himself for failing to "exhibit" the Papists on his estates, was informed that his excuse could not be accepted; and he was further ordered to appear again on a certain date, to witness the "sequestration" of his daughters, "for their better breeding and instruction in the grounds of the true religion." The Earl of Angus had likewise received injunctions to commit his

[1] Chambers, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 25, 26.

eldest son, James Douglas, to the care of Principal Adamson of the Edinburgh University, for the settling of his religious doubts. The youth, however, contrived to give his tutor the slip, whereupon he was intrusted to the guardianship of the Duke of Lennox. Angus was in consequence summoned before the Council; and although he submitted that he had had no knowledge of his son's action until after the event, he was compelled to sue for pardon. The two daughters of the Earl of Errol, as well as the children of the Laird of Dalgety, and of Gordon of Dunkinty, were said to be under "vehement suspicion of being corrupted in their religion by remaining in their fathers' company;" as were also the daughters of Huntly, Lord Gray, and many others. The Earl of Nithsdale was commanded by the Council to produce his son, that he might be examined as to his religious sentiments. Lord Gordon also, the same who afterwards received a commission from the Government against the northern Papists, was ordered to place his sons under a tutor approved of by the Archbishop of St Andrews.[1]

Crusade against Catholics in the north.

The fresh campaign against the Catholics of the north, to which allusion has just been made, opened in January 1630. King Charles, who reckoned on the Scotch Catholic nobles as among the most loyal supporters of his throne and gov-

[1] Chambers, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 27.

ernment, was, there is no reason to doubt, personally averse to the persecuting measures which were forced upon him by the fanatical adherents of the Kirk. It was probably, therefore, from a motive of leniency that he intrusted the execution of the penal laws to Lord Gordon, Huntly's eldest son, who, although he had through the influence of King James received a Protestant education, was yet unlikely to err on the side of too great severity in carrying out the royal commission. He was, indeed, at first unwilling to accept it; and when he at length agreed to do so, he performed his duty, as Sir Robert Gordon tells us, with a "dexterity and moderation" that won for him general approval. That he counted on gaining some pecuniary advantages from his crusade against the Catholics, is clear from the tenor of a petition which he presented to the Privy Council respecting the escheat of the rebels' property. The effect of restoring to them a third part of their estate would be, he submitted, simply to confirm them in obstinacy, while it would result in a direct loss to himself. In reply to this appeal, the Council appears to have ordained that no deduction should be made from the remuneration which he expected for his services.

Lord Gordon's report to the Privy Council.

On June 1, 1630, Lord Gordon came before the Privy Council to report the progress he had made in executing his commission. A number of persons, it appeared, including Robert Bisset, the

Gordons of Tilliesoul and Drumquhaill, Hugh Hill, John Spence and his spouse, had "given obedience and reconciled themselves to the Kirk;" while others, among whom were Bisset's wife, the Gordons of Cairnbarrow, Corrichie, and Letterfour, Malcolm Laing, Adam Strachan, and Forbes of Blackton and his wife, were reported to stand out "in obstinate disobedience." Most of the latter appeared before the Council on July 20, when they were given their choice of conforming before a certain day, or of leaving the country. Dr William Leslie and Sir John Ogilvie of Craig were similarly bound about the same time. The former, however, was licensed three months later to return to Scotland, in order to attend professionally upon the Marquis of Huntly, who appeared to have confidence in no other practitioner. John Gordon of Bountie, who had allowed a priest named Robert Mortimer to say mass in his house, received in consequence a visit of remonstrance from two members of the presbytery. John seems to have broken out on the occasion into somewhat violent language, of which, however, he very soon repented; for we find him a little later supplicating the Protestant bishop of Aberdeen for release from excommunication, and reconciliation with the Established Church.

Petition of John Gordon of Craig.

A petition presented to the Privy Council on July 27, 1630, by John Gordon of Craig, is inter-

esting, alike from the touching simplicity of its wording, and as an instance of the real sufferings to which the unfortunate Catholic gentry of Scotland were at this time exposed. It sets forth "that, for religion, order hath been given for banishing the petitioner's son, his wife, and children, and confining himself—in respect of his great age—in a town within Scotland [Cupar]; which order they have all humbly obeyed, his son, wife, and poor children having forthwith abandoned the kingdom. A two part of the poor estate which he hath being allotted for his son and his family, and a third part for himself, he now findeth that by such a mean proportion he cannot be able to live, being both aged and sickly. His humble suit is, that he may have leave to depart the kingdom to live with his son, because by their estate undivided they may all be more able to subsist than otherwise."[1] It might be thought that a petition so natural and so humbly worded could hardly have met with other than a favourable reply. The Council, however, were pleased to pronounce it "unreasonable," and further, to declare that "the said John Gordon of Craig sall have no modification nor allowance of ane third part of his estate and living, except he remain within the kingdom and keep the bounds of his confinement." Nor did

Its reception by the Council.

[1] From the original in the Register House (Chambers, vol. ii. p. 38).

they stop here; for it being found that Craig was in the habit of receiving visits from persons "suspect in religion," and not only conferring with them, but (as was supposed) "entertaining practices hurtful to the true religion," he was compelled to quit his home, and to fix his residence in the remote burgh of Crail.[1]

Intervention of the French ambassador in London.

To such an extent was the persecution of the Scottish Catholics carried at this time, that the French ambassador in London thought fit to write to Rome on the subject. The Congregation of Propaganda, on October 1, 1630, begged him to use his influence with the king on behalf of the sufferers; and the nuncio in Paris was at the same time directed to confer in regard to the matter with Carlo Colonna, the Spanish ambassador.[2]

Pressure of the penal laws on the Catholic ladies of Scotland.

It must not be supposed that the pressure of the penal laws was not felt by the Catholic ladies of Scotland at this time, equally with the rest of their co-religionists. We find specially cited by the Privy Council, in December 1630, Madelen Wood, spouse to Leslie of Kincraigie, Janet Wood, Marjory Malcolm, Isobel Strachan, and several others, "who are not only professed and avowed Papists, and excommunicat by orders of the Kirk for that cause, but with that they are

[1] Chambers, vol. ii. p. 39.

[2] Archiv. Propag., Acta, 1 Octob. 1630 (fol. 139). "Ut modis, quibus poterit, afflictam Scotiæ ecclesiam Catholicam juvare velit."

denounced his Majesty's rebels." It is further declared that these ladies are "common resetters, hoorders, and enterteiners of Jesuits, and mess-priests, and traffiquing Papists — hears mess of them, and otherwise lives aftir ane most scandalous and offensive manner;" and they are ordered to appear personally with their husbands, to answer the charges against them. Among the many sufferers for conscience' sake at this time, we may cite the case of Elisabeth Garioch, who, on September 9, 1630, presented a petition to the Privy Council, setting forth the hardships to which she was exposed for her "averseness and non-conformity to the religion presently professed." The petitioner, who was a woman of over seventy, and wholly bed-ridden, had lain for months in the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, her only means of subsistence being a little croft, which, however, she had neither husband nor son to cultivate for her. She therefore craved release from prison, undertaking—"for the eschewing of scandal, which her remaining in the country might occasion"—to give security for her quitting the kingdom forthwith. The Lords of the Council were pleased to direct the Bishop of Aberdeen to see to the liberation of the poor woman, but only on condition of her finding caution to the amount of a thousand marks for her banishment from Scotland.[1]

Sufferings of Elisabeth Garioch for the faith.

[1] Chambers, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 38, 39.

It would be easy to cite many similar instances from the records of the time, although few indeed of our national historians have thought them worthy of record. "It is remarkable," observes the impartial writer to whom we have made frequent reference, "that while the histories of our country and its national Church are careful to note every particular of the conflict between Presbytery and Episcopacy at this period, there is nowhere the slightest allusion to these sufferings of the remnant of Romanists, towards which Presbyterians and Episcopalians alike contributed."[1] Nor did the chief evil consist, as the same author has well observed, in the actual severities endured by the Catholics who continued staunch to their faith, but rather in the hypocrisy which was involved in the external conformity to Protestantism of large numbers of persons who remained Catholic at heart.

Occasional exercise of royal clemency.

Notwithstanding the general severity with which the persecuting laws against Catholics continued to be administered during this period, there were not wanting individual cases, especially when persons of rank were concerned, in which the royal indulgence was exercised with a view to removing, or at least mitigating, the penalties incurred. Thus we find Sir John Ogilvie of Craig, after a considerable term of imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle, permitted to

Sir John Ogilvie of Craig.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

return home, "upon promise of ane sober and modest behaviour without scandal or offence to the Kirk." Complaint was made, however, very shortly afterwards, that since his going home he had "behaved himself very scandalously, daily conversing with excommunicat persons, privately resetting seminary and mass priests, and restraining his bairns and servants from coming to the kirk, to the heigh offence of God and disgrace of his Majesty's government." Sir John was accordingly recommitted to ward at St Andrews, whence he obtained his release only on certain stringent conditions; among others, that he should cause his family and household to attend the kirk regularly, that he himself should remain in his house and within two miles thereof, should not receive priests, nor be found reasoning against the established religion.[1]

The Earl of Nithsdale and his infant son.

In November 1631, the Council had before them the case of the Earl of Nithsdale, who was said to be "vehemently suspected in his religion;" and it was farther declared that "the remaining of Lord Maxwell, his son, in his company, might prove very dangerous to the youth, and now in his tender years infect and poison him with opinions from which it would be difficult thereafter to reclaim him." The earl was accordingly directed to produce his son, that measures might be taken "for his breeding and education in

[1] This was in September 1631. See Chambers, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 58.

the true religion." These summary proceedings are the more remarkable, taken in connection with the high position of Nithsdale, who had only lately been in command of a large force in the service of the king's brother-in-law in Germany.[1] In other cases which came before the Council at this time, we find the king occasionally interfering to mitigate the crushing penalties incurred by the unfortunate Catholic gentlemen. Thus Patrick Con of Achry, and Gordon of Craig, both obtained, by means of petitions to his Majesty, some relaxation of the excommunication incurred by them for adherence to the Catholic religion.

Protests against the royal indulgence.

These and similar acts of clemency, which Charles occasionally saw fit to exercise in regard to his Catholic subjects, were, as might be expected, far from palatable to the Kirk and Council of Scotland. A strong protest on the subject was made by a diocesan synod which assembled at Aberdeen in July 1632. It was represented to the Council that the permission to return home granted to recusant Catholics could only result in confirming them in obstinacy, and nullifying the effect of the excommunication of the Church. In consequence, perhaps, of the urgent demands made on them for increased strictness in enforcing the penal laws, the Council proceeded to summon before them Dr William Leslie and Robert Irving, who were among those who had returned from

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

abroad, and to require them to exhibit their licences. A few months later, orders were issued for the apprehension of one Andrew Anderson, who was said to occupy himself, in and about Dumfries, in arranging for the sending of gentlemen's sons beyond seas to be educated. Anderson was brought to Edinburgh, and confined in the Tolbooth; but before his case could be dealt with he died in prison.[1]

Appeal to Queen Henrietta Maria.

The reports which constantly reached Rome relative to the sufferings of the Scottish Catholics, induced the Congregation of Propaganda to appeal to Queen Henrietta Maria to use her influence in obtaining a cessation of the persecution.[2]

Letter to the queen from Pope Urban VIII.

On February 12, 1633, Urban VIII. addressed a letter to the queen, earnestly exhorting her to intervene on behalf of the distressed Catholics, whose daily sufferings, he adds, are too grievous to be borne with longer by her clemency and loving-kindness.[3] In a session of the Congrega-

[1] Chambers, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 60. Anderson is described, in the usual official style, as a "busy trafficking papist."

[2] Archiv. Propag., Sessio 16 Novemb. 1632 (fol. 139). "Breve ad Reginam Angliæ, ut officia sua apud Regem suum maritum imponat pro Catholicis Scotiæ, ne ab hæreticis tam dire et crudeliter opprimantur, et ad Nuntium Galliarum, ut a Rege christianissimo aliquam provisionem procuret."

[3] *Bullar. S. Congr. de Prop. Fide* (Append. ad t. i. p. 195). "Quamobrem Catholicos, quos ab hæreticis in Scotia indigne vexari cognovimus, Majestati Tuæ sic commendamus, ut neque majori studio quidquam, neque justioribus de causis commendare possimus. Quæ ab iis quotidie patiuntur, acerbiora sunt quam ut a clementia et pietate tua diutius tolerari debeant, neque non de rei familiaris

tion held in September 16, Cardinal Bentivoglio was able to report that the queen had complied with the wishes of the Holy See, and that good hopes were entertained of the speedy relief of the Catholics of Scotland.[1] Henrietta Maria appears to have exerted herself in their favour on more than one occasion. We find her, for example, recommending to the good offices of Cardinal Barberini a young Scotchman of good family named Colin Campbell, who had been treated with great harshness by his family on account of his recent conversion to the Catholic religion.[2]

Activity of the Presbyterian ministers.

A prominent part was of course taken by the Presbyterian ministers in the frequent prosecution of Catholics before the Privy Council. The Records of June 1634 give the decision of the Council in the case of Robert Rig of Dumfries, who was charged, at the instance of the Presbytery, with having been married "by a Popish

Prosecution of Catholics at Dumfries.

jactura, aut de corporis incommodis, quæ tamen durissima sunt, sed de animæ interitu præcipue agitur, quo omnia ab illis per summam impietatem diriguntur."

[1] Archiv. Propag., 17 Sept. 1633 (fol. 298). "Em^mus D. Cardinalis Bentivoglio retulit de mandatis ab eadem Regina [Angliæ] opportune datis pro prædictorum Catholicorum subsidio et de spe concepta, quod per prædicta mandata iidem Catholici sint valde sublevandi a persecutionibus quas nunc patiuntur."

[2] Copy of a letter in the Barberini Collection (Record Office): "De Londres, ce 28 Novembre 1639. Henriette M. R. a Mon Cousin le Cardinal Barberini. Le jeune gentilhomme Colin Campbelle, né de fort bon lieu, et descendu d'une des plus nobles et anciennes familles d'escosse, a esté traitté assez rudement de ses parents, parcequ'il s'est depuis quelque tems converty de son erreur a nr̃e sainte foy."

priest, on a Sunday, at night, with candle-light, above the bridge of Cluden in the fields, in presence of four witnesses, to Elspeth Maxwell, an excommunicate Papist." Thomas Ramsay, minister of Dumfries, appeared before the Council to support the case against the delinquent; and the latter, notwithstanding that he craved for pardon, was sentenced to be imprisoned during pleasure in the Tolbooth at Edinburgh, care being meantime taken that his wife had no access to him either by word or letter. Elspeth herself had for some time been in confinement in Dumfries jail—among her fellow-prisoners being a number of persons, including fourteen women, wives of respectable tradesmen in the town, accused on their own confession of the crime of hearing mass several times during the past twelvemonth. On July 3, Thomas Ramsay, accompanied by Bailie John Williamson, again appeared before the Council for the purpose of presenting the above-mentioned persons. Eight of the delinquents expressed themselves repentant, and promised not to "hear mass nor receive Jesuits" for the future: seven, however, "refused to conform to the religion presently professed within the kingdom; in respect whereof, the Lords ordain them to be committed to ward within the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, therein to remain upon their own expenses till they be freed and relieved." A few days later the prisoners were handed over

to the Protestant archbishop of Glasgow, to be dealt with according to his pleasure.[1]

Death of the Marquis of Huntly, June 15, 1636.

Among those who, whatever religious vacillation they had exhibited during life, had at least the grace to seek reconciliation with the Church before they died, must be mentioned the Marquis of Huntly, whose long and eventful career came to a close in June 1636. Four times, at least, he had publicly conformed to the established religion, and had as often reasserted himself a Catholic—a state of things, as it has been well observed,[2] in which it is hard to say whether Huntly himself was more to blame for his insincerity, or the Church courts for accepting professions which they must have known were valueless. Fortunately for himself, his religious instincts seem to have awakened at the last, and he made an edifying end at Dundee, on June 15, 1636, attended by the zealous Jesuit missionary, Father William Christie.[3] He was buried in the following August, with Catholic rites, in his own aisle in the noble cathedral of Elgin. The Earl of Errol, after more than forty years' suffering

[1] *Privy Council Records* (Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, vol. ii. pp. 72, 73).

[2] Chambers, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 91.

[3] Father Christie, who came on the Scotch Mission in 1625, is said in a contemporary letter to have reconciled upwards of four hundred converts to the Church in less than three years. After Huntly's death he quitted Scotland, and in 1650 became rector of the seminary at Douai. (See Oliver's *Illustr. of Engl., Ir., and Scotch Jesuits*, p. 17.)—Translator.

for the faith, had predeceased him five years previously.[1]

Destruction of "Popish" images at Aberdeen, 1640.

From time to time we find the authorities of the Kirk giving fresh evidence of their iconoclastic zeal. Thus, on August 5, 1640, orders were given by the General Assembly for the destruction of several monuments of the old faith, which still remained in Aberdeen. In the cathedral of St Machar, writes a contemporary chronicler, "they ordained our blessed Lord Jesus Christ his arms to be cut out of the forefront of the pulpit thereof, and to take doun the portraiture of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and our Saviour in her arms, that had stood since the up-putting thereof. . . . And besides, where there was any crucifixes set in glass windows, those he [the Master of Forbes] caused pull out. . . . He caused a mason strike out Christ's arms in hewn work, on each end of Bishop Gavin Dunbar's tomb, and siklike chisel out the name of Jesus, drawn cipher-ways, out of the timber wall on the foreside of Machar's aisle. . . . The crucifix on the Old Town Cross was thrown down; the crucifix on the New Toun Cross closed up, being loth to break the stone; the crucifix on the west end of St Nicholas'

[1] This excellent nobleman was buried with great simplicity in the church of Slaines, having desired all that could be saved from his funeral expenses to be given to the poor. Spalding (*Hist. of the Troubles in Scotland*, 1624-1645, ed. 1792, vol. i. p. 16) speaks in the highest terms of his piety and fortitude under long and heavy trials.—TRANSLATOR.

Church in New Aberdeen thrown down, whilk was never touched before."[1] In December of the same year, a party of Covenanters, at the instance of the parish minister of Elgin, demolished the beautiful timber screen which still stood in the ruined cathedral. "On the west side," says the old writer already quoted, "was painted in excellent colours, illuminate with stars of bright gold, the crucifixion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and this piece was so excellently done, that the colours and stars never faded nor evanished, but kept hale and sound as they were at the beginning. . . . On the other side of the wall, towards the east, was drawn the Day of Judgment. . . . It was said this minister caused bring home to his house the timber thereof, and burn the same for kitchen and other uses."[2] A similar act of vandalism was perpetrated in respect to the venerable cross which stood for centuries in the parish church of Ruthwell, near Dumfries.

Devastation of Elgin Cathedral.

The Ruthwell Cross.

[1] Spalding, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 246.

[2] Spalding, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 286. The chronicler adds that the fire thus sacrilegiously kindled went out every night, "and could not be holden in to kindle the morning fire, as use is; whereat the servants and others marvelled, and thereupon the minister left off any further to bring in or burn any more of that timber in his house."

A somewhat better fate was reserved for the picture in Foulis Church, from which a coating of whitewash having been removed some years ago, there was revealed a painting of the crucifixion, measuring over 13 feet in height. Other works painted on wood were at the same time discovered, including a portrait of the painter.—Translator.

An interest almost unique attaches to this ancient monument, with its Latin and Runic inscriptions, and its sculptured decorations depicting scenes from Scripture and from Christian antiquity, and executed with a grace and freedom not unworthy of a classic age. On July 27, 1642, the General Assembly decreed its destruction as a monument of idolatry. It was thrown down accordingly, and left lying for upwards of a century close to the former site of the altar of the church.[1]

Zeal of the Covenanters against Catholic traditions.

But it was not only against such of the material monuments of Catholic piety as had escaped the tempests of the sixteenth century that the destructive zeal of the Covenanters was now directed. They aimed at the ruthless suppression of every Christian observance that had survived the Reformation. The Consistorial clerk of the diocese of Aberdeen, writing in December 1641, deplores the change that had thus been brought about. "Friday the 25 of December," he writes, "of old called Yool-day; and whereon preachings and praises and thanksgiving was given to God in remembrance of the birth of our blessed Saviour, and therewith friends and neigh-

Abolition of the Christmas and Easter festivals.

[1] About the year 1775 the broken cross was thrown out into the churchyard on the occasion of the reseating of the church; and some thirty years later the fragments were pieced together, and removed to the garden of the old manse. It was only in 1887 that steps were at length tardily taken to preserve from weather and further decay this unique relic of Christian antiquity. A detailed account of the monument will be found in Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, vol. ii. pp. 232-246.—TRANSLATOR.

bours made merry with others and had good cheer: now this day no such preachings nor such meetings with merriness, walking up and doun; but contrary, this day commanded to be kept as a work-day, each burgess to keep his booth, each craftsman his work, feasting and idleset forbidden out of pulpits. . . . The people was otherwise inclined, but durst not disobey; yet little merchandise was sold, and as little work done on this day in either Aberdeen. The colliginers and other scholars keep the school against their wills."[1] The same Puritan spirit prohibited the immemorial association of innocent mirth with the season of Easter. "No flesh durst be sold in Aberdeen for making good cheer, as wont was to be. . . . A matter never before heard of in this land, that Pasch-day should be included within Lentron time, because it was now holden superstitious; nor na communion given on Good Friday nor this Pasch-day, as was usit before. Marvellous in Aberdeen to see no market, fowl nor flesh, to be sold on Pasch-even."[2]

Persecution of the widowed Marchioness of Huntly.

King Charles had, as we have seen, lent the sanction of his royal authority to the rigorous enforcement of the penal laws in Scotland; and the Covenanting clergy, in the height of their antagonism to the monarchy, vigorously continued the same intolerant policy. The rank

[1] Spalding, *History of the Troubles*, vol. i. p. 358.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 30.

and connections of the widowed Marchioness of Huntly (daughter of Esmè, Duke of Lennox), who had been born and brought up in France, and was now far advanced in years, did not avail to protect her from the persecuting zeal of the Kirk. "A strange thing," wrote Spalding, "to see a worthy lady, near seventy years of age, put to such trouble and travail, being a widow, her eldest son being out of the kingdom, her bairns and oyes [grandchildren] dispersed and spread—and albeit nobly born, yet left helpless and comfortless, and so put at by the Kirk, that she behoved to go or else to bide excommunication, and thereby lose her estate and living." The marchioness, having provided as she best could for the maintenance of her grandchildren, and having failed to find any relief in Edinburgh (although the king himself was resident there at the time), retired to France, where she died in the following year.[1]

Peter Jop and the Privy Council.

It was not, of course, to be expected that the Catholics belonging to the lower classes of society could hope to enjoy the toleration which was denied to persons of rank and position. Among the petitions to the Privy Council in the spring of 1642 is recorded one from Peter Jop, an Aberdeen sailor, praying for the release from prison of his wife, an "excommunicat Papist." The Lords wrote accordingly to the magistrates and

[1] Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, vol. ii. pp. 139, 140.

ministers of Aberdeen, directing that the prisoner should be liberated, but only on condition of conformity to the Kirk, or banishment beyond seas; and the unfortunate Jop could obtain no further satisfaction, except a few months' extension of the time of grace accorded by the Council, on the ground of his wife's precarious health.[1]

The Kirk and the Marquis of Douglas.

The last victims of the inquisitorial zeal of the Kirk that we need at present notice were the Marquis of Douglas (formerly Earl of Angus) and his wife, a daughter of the first Marquis of Huntly. Both were known as firm adherents of the Catholic faith, and as such were a constant thorn in the side of the Lanark Presbytery, within whose jurisdiction they resided. Preachers were sent from time to time to Douglas Castle to labour for the conversion of the family; and the usual methods—including religious discussions, interference in domestic arrangements, and menaces of excommunication—were long employed without effect. Wearied out at length with their solicitations, the marchioness consented to attend the parish church, and to permit her children to be instructed in the Protestant catechism; but it was six years before her husband could be induced by similar means to conform to the Presbyterian worship. In neither case, of course, was the conformity more than merely external; and it was not long before the Presbytery again brought formal com-

March 1650.

[1] *Privy Council Records* Chambers, *loc. cit.*)

plaint against the marquis and his wife for having sent one of their daughters to France "to be bred in Popery," and having placed one of their sons also at the French Court. They were urged to recall them at once to Scotland, but this they refused to do. How little cause for satisfaction the Presbytery found in the supposed conversion of the noble pair, was shown by the further complaint that they hardly ever attended public worship or had private exercises at home.[1] More than six years later—in September 1656—we find the Presbytery making the same complaints, and fulminating the same threats against the marquis and his family. "A peer or peeress," as Chambers caustically observes,[2] "seems to have been a particularly difficult person to excommunicate. Years elapsed in such cases without effecting the object, while a Quaker villager could be conclusively thrust out of the Church in a few weeks."

Measures directed against the Catholic clergy.

It is hardly necessary to say that the tyrannous prosecution of the Kirk was not directed against the Catholic laity alone. It was indeed, as we should expect, principally aimed against the devoted men who had dedicated their lives and labours to preserving the faith, by preaching and administering the sacraments, among the

[1] *Register of the Presbytery of Lanark* (Chambers, vol. ii. pp. 190-194).

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 242.

scattered and proscribed Catholics of Scotland. The Privy Council proclamation of 1628, to which we have already referred, made special mention of a number of Catholic clergy who were at that time labouring in the northern part of the kingdom. The priests named in this document were "Mr Andrew Steven, Mr John Ogilvie, Father Stitchill, Father Hegitts, Capuchin Leslie, commonly called *The Archangel;*[1] Mr William Leslie, commonly called *The Captain;* Father Christie, commonly called *The Principal of Dowie*, with two other Christies; Father Brown, son to James Brown at the Nether Bow of Edinburgh; Father Tyrie, three Robertsons called *Fathers*, Father Robb, Father Patterson, Father Pittendreich, Father Dumbreck, and Dr William Leslie." These ecclesiastics are characterised as "the most pernicious pests in this commonweal;" and it is commanded that "none presume to receive, supply, nor furnish meat, drink, house nor harboury to them, nor keep company with them," under the severest penalties.[2]

Stringent enactments against the priests, July 1629.

Still more stringent were the provisions contained in the commission issued in July 1629. In these it is specially ordered that should the priests or other delinquents fly to fortified places, the commissioners should "follow, hunt and pursue them with fire and sword, assiege the said

[1] See *ante*, vol. iii. p. 410, note; and *post*, pp. 75 *et seq.*

[2] Chambers, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 22.

strengths and houses, raise fire, and use all other force and warlike engine that can be had for winning and recovery thereof, and apprehending of the said Jesuits and excommunicate Papists being therein."[1] Notwithstanding, however, the severity of these enactments, which can only be compared to the edicts of the Roman emperors against the Christians of the early Church, there were not wanting members both of the secular and regular clergy who continued with unabated zeal their efforts to preserve the Catholic faith among their co-religionists in Scotland.

Cardinal Barberini protector of Scotland.

On October 2, 1623, Pope Urban VIII. nominated as protector of the Scotch Catholics his nephew, Cardinal Francis Barberini. The cardinal, who held this office for upwards of half a century, gave hospitable entertainment to Scotch pilgrims to Rome—more especially at the time of jubilee in 1625—and also afforded charitable succour to many impoverished families of the same nation.[2] On May 18, 1630, Pope Urban granted to him extensive faculties both for England and Scotland, including permission to ordain candidates from either country without dimissorials or titles, to reconcile heretics, to offer the holy sacrifice in private houses and prisons, to dispense from matrimonial impediments and vows,

[1] Chambers, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 24.

[2] Cardella, *Memorie Storiche*, tom. vi. p. 238. "Diede cortese alloggio ai Greci, Scozzesi, &c."

and to sanction vernacular translations of the Bible, and the perusal of prohibited books, with a view to their refutation.[1] Five years previously the same pontiff had named Dr Richard Smith bishop of Chalcedon in succession to the deceased Dr Bishop, and had appointed him at the same time vicar-apostolic of England and Scotland. The new prelate was consecrated at Paris on January 12, 1625, by Cardinal Spada, nuncio to the French Court; and a few weeks later Urban VIII. addressed to him the beautiful letter commencing "Ecclesia Romana sollicita,"[2] and conveying the necessary faculties. In the following March the Pope granted to the vicar-apostolic permission to administer the sacrament of confirmation without the pontifical vestments."[3]

Appointment of Richard Smith as vicar-apostolic for Great Britain.

Bishop Smith appeared at first to justify the hopes raised by his appointment; and his zeal was commended by Urban VIII., who looked forward with joy to a revival of the Catholic religion in England under the guidance of the new prelate and with the support of the queen.[4] But the bishop, owing to the unfortunate compli-

Difficulties encountered by the new prelate.

[1] *Bullar. S. Congr. de Prop. Fide*, Append. ad tom. i. pp. 180, 181.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[3] Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. iii. p. 74. "Congr. S. Officii—Die 20 Martii, 1625, eidem Episcopo Chalcedonensi Sanctissimus concessit facultatem administrandi sacramenta (*sic*) confirmationis sine vestibus pontificalibus in casu necessitatis in Regnis Angliæ et Scotiæ tantum."

[4] Pope Urban's letter to Bishop Smith is given in Appendix I.

cations into which he was brought by disputes with the missionaries, the countenance he gave to the uncanonical chapter erected by his predecessor, and constant collisions with the regular clergy, soon found his position untenable. Pope Urban intimated to him in unmistakable terms that he was in no sense ordinary of England, but merely a delegate of the Pope, with limited and revocable powers; and the bishop shortly afterwards asked and obtained permission to resign his office, and retired to France, where he died in 1655.[1] Various efforts were made to obtain the appointment of a successor. Queen Henrietta Maria recommended to the Holy See (which was at that time vacant) an ecclesiastic named Clifford,[2] while the Archduke Leopold proposed to Pope Alexander VII. the name of Canon Henry Teller.[3] These

His resignation.

[1] Laemmer, *Mantissa*, p. 322; Cod. Corsin. 283, fol. 9 *et seq.* "Ma morto poco tempo dopo il sudetto Vescovo di Calcedonia, quale arrivato in Inghilterra turbò più che mai lo stato di quei Cattolici, mentre subito pretese essere l'Ordinario d'Inghilterra et anco di Scotia, si opposi alli Missionarii Apostolici, formò tribunale, confermò il Capitolo, impose pensione ai laici, et in somma suscitò una fiera contesa fra lui et i Regolari. Onde la s.m. d'Urbano nel 1627 dichiarò nella Congregatione del Santo Officio, ch' il Vescovo Calcedonense non era Ordinario d'Inghilterra, ma semplice Delegato con facoltà limitate e revocabili a beneplacito del Pontefice."

[2] Record Office. Copy of letters of princes (Archiv. Vatic.), vol. lxxix. fol. 21. Letter of the Queen-Dowager from Paris.

[3] Record Office, *l.c.* vol. lxxviii. p. 212. "El clero de Anglaterra me ha escrito una carta, cuya copia remito al Duque de Terranuova . . . en que me dice, que por haver muerto Obispo Chalcedonense . . . me pide interponga mis officios con V. Bd. paraque les diese este consuelo proponiendome la persona del Canonigo Henrique Teller, nacido en estos estados, aunque de Padres Ingleses."

recommendations, however, remained without result. England was now in the throes of revolution, and provision had already been made for Scotland by the appointment of William Ballantyne (or Bellenden) as prefect of the mission.

More than thirty years before, we find the name of Father Silvanus as superior of the Benedictine missionaries in Scotland. On July 22, 1627, he appears for various reasons to have been relieved of this office, which was conferred on Father William Ogilvy, Abbot of St James', Wurzburg.[1] The lapse of time, however, made increasingly evident the necessity of some supreme ecclesiastical authority in the country, which should be acknowledged by seculars and regulars alike. A report written by David Chambers, who was sent on the Scotch mission in 1631, lays special stress on the desirability of the appointment of a prefect invested with episcopal rank. The Congregation appears to have considered the proposal favourably, but no steps were taken to carry it out.[2] A few years

Necessity of a superior over the Scottish mission.

[1] Archiv. Propag. (Scozia) Scritture riferite, i. 11. "Il P. Silvano destinato superiore de Benedittini Scozzesi nelle missione di Scotia." Also i. 14. "Al Padre Silvano Benedittino si revoca per vari rispetti la prefettura colle facoltà per la missione di Scotia, e si dichiara per nuovo prefetto il P. Gulielmo Ogilbeo, Abbate del monastero di S. Giacomo di Erbipoli."

[2] Archiv. Propag. *l.c.* i. 18. "David Camerario, il quale ottenne la missione di Scotia l'anno 1631, transmette la relazione dello stato di quel regno, con rappresentare la necessità di costituire un Superiore costituito in dignità vescovile. Fu risoluto per l'affermativa,

later, in August 1640, we find negotiations being carried on for the revival of the ancient see of the Isles, to which it was proposed to nominate an Irish Franciscan named Hegarty. Among those who warmly advocated this scheme was the Bishop of Down and Connor, in Ireland. The Congregation, however, decided to postpone its consideration until they had received further information on the matter.[1]

Propaganda and the Scotch mission.

In the year 1653 the Congregation of Propaganda had before it a large number of proposals designed to improve the condition of the Church in Scotland. Some of these related to the suggested increase in the number of missionaries and in the provision for their support, and others to the advisability of extending the authority and faculties of the prefect. It was also proposed

sì per essersi cresciuto il numero dei Cattolici, si perchè vi sia persona da opporsi al Vescovo Lismorense (eretico)."

[1] Archiv. Propag., Acta Session., fol. 148, 20 August 1640. Promotio Patritii Hegertii ad Ecclesiam Sodorensem in prædictis insulis Hebridum. The reply was *Dilata.*

Gordon (*Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. vi) prints the following interesting testimony of F. Semple, S.J., rector of the Scotch College at Madrid, to the advantages anticipated from the appointment of Father Hegarty: "I have desired for many years to see a bishop in the wild islands of the Hebrides, to instruct and form the priests, to settle disputes among the Catholics, and to administer the Sacraments of Orders and of Confirmation. . . . I knew of no one better fitted for the office than the Prefect of the Franciscans in the Scotch Mission, in whom all the characteristics of a good pastor are to be found. I have sent him and his companions some ecclesiastical ornaments and some alms, and I will do my best every year to relieve his necessities."—TRANSLATOR.

that the aid of the King of France should be enlisted, both in the education of Scotch clergy, and in effecting a cessation of the persecution of Catholics in Scotland: and, finally, that a visitor should be appointed to report as to the state and needs of the missions.[1] The most important outcome of these proposals was the incorporation of the secular clergy into a missionary body, under the direction of William Ballantyne (or Bellenden) as prefect of the mission.[2] Born of Protestant parents (his father was the minister of Douglas in Lanarkshire), and a nephew of Lord Newhall, a judge of the Court of Session, Ballantyne was educated in Edinburgh, and afterwards, travelling in France, embraced the Catholic religion in Paris. In 1641

William Ballantyne appointed prefect, 1653.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scritture rifer. i. 26, ann. 1653. "Rimedi proposti alla S. Congr. 1. Si accresse il numero dei missionarii con assegnare a ciascuno una competente provisione. 2. Che si desse facoltà al prefetto delle missioni di chiamare gli alunni di tutti i collegi Scozzesi. 3. Che il prefetto abbia autorità di prescrivere a ciascuno dei missionarii l'impiego. 4. Che si desse al medesimo la facoltà di consecrar calici. 5. Che si provedessero i missionarii con paramenti. 6. Che si destinasse un uomo dotto à tradurre libri spirituali e di controversie. 7. Che si facessero aprire scuole cattoliche nel Regno. 8. Che si aprisse un ospitio, nel quale i missionarii prima di andare alla missione si esercitassero nelle funtioni. 9. Procurare che il Re di Francia assegnarse ai Scozzesi uno dei Collegi vacanti nell' università del Regno. 10. Che per mezzo del nominato Re si procurasse che li ministri e magistrati eretici non perseguitassero i sacerdoti di Scotia, e finalmente che si mandasse in Scotia un visitatore, mezzo migliore e unico per sapere lo stato e i bisogni della missione."

[2] Archiv. Propag. Scritture rifer. i. 25, ann. 1653. "Si forma la missione di Scotia dichiarandosi prefetto di essa il Bannatino."

he entered the Scotch College at Rome to prepare for the priesthood. Here he gave proof of more than ordinary ability and industry, twice publicly defending theses, which he dedicated to Lord James Douglas. After his ordination to the priesthood, Ballantyne spent upwards of two years in the Scotch College at Paris, and while there had the happiness of reconciling to the Church his younger brother, who had been page to the Elector Palatine, and had since risen to be major in the Covenanting army. In 1649, Father Ballantyne arrived on the mission in Scotland, where a very short residence sufficed to convince him of the indispensable necessity that existed for the appointment of an ecclesiastical superior, endowed with proper authority at home, and competent to represent the interests of the mission abroad. Returning to Paris in 1650, he consulted with his friends and former fellow-pupils, and succeeded in warmly interesting Cardinal Barberini, the papal legate, in the project which he had at heart. The cardinal was accompanied on his return to Rome by Father William Leslie, who used every effort to obtain the desired concession from the recently founded Congregation of Propaganda. At length, in 1653, decrees were issued, organising the Scotch mission under a prefect-apostolic, and naming Father Ballantyne to the office. At the same time, provision was made for the annual payment of five

hundred crowns, for the support of ten missionaries in Scotland.

Labours of Ballantyne in Scotland.

Meanwhile the zealous priest, who had some time previously returned to Scotland, was prosecuting his missionary labours with singular devotion and success, among those whom he reconciled to the ancient faith being the Marquis of Huntly, and many others who had fallen away during the persecutions. In 1656, Father Ballantyne set out for France, in order to be present at the religious profession of a sister of the Marchioness of Huntly. His vessel was captured by an English cruiser, and the passengers brought prisoners to Ostend. The prefect was treated with respect, and very shortly set at liberty; but being suspected and denounced to the Government by Lord Conway, one of his fellow-passengers, he was arrested at Rye, immediately on his return to England, and sent to London. For nearly two years he remained in confinement, winning during this period the esteem and admiration of Cromwell's secretary, Thurlow, who had frequent interviews with him. On his liberation he repaired to Paris, where he received from Rome the sum of fifty pounds to defray the expenses of his imprisonment.[1] In May 1660 the

His imprisonment in London, 1656.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scritture rifer. i. 32. "Il Bannatino capita prigione e sta due anni nelle carceri di Londra, con debito per 200 scudi e fà istanza di esser sovvenuto per pagar il debito. La S. Congregazione la rimette al Nunzio di Francia." — See Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 520.

prefect returned once more to labour in Scotland, where, however, he survived little more than a year. Before his death he had the consolation of receiving the abjuration of his old friend and fellow-missionary, Father Crichton, who had unhappily fallen away from the faith. Father Ballantyne spent the last months of his life in the house of the Marchioness of Huntly, at Elgin, and expired there on September 2, 1661. He was buried in the vault of the Huntly family, in the cathedral of Elgin, a large number of Protestants, including the magistrates and citizens of the town, accompanying his remains to the grave.[1]

Death of Ballantyne, September 1661.

Religious state of Scotland under Cromwell.

There is preserved in the Barberini library at Rome an anonymous manuscript, containing an interesting report of the state of the Scotch mission at this time.[2] It is entitled "A Letter from the Superior of the Mission in the Kingdom of Scotland to the Cardinals of the Congregation of Propaganda;" and having been written, as we learn from its contents, during the time of the Protectorship of Cromwell, might be supposed to have emanated from Ballantyne himself, who did,

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scritture rifer. i. 34, ann. 1661. "Muore il Bannatino in concetto di molta bontà di vita anche appresso li eretici dimostrato coll' honore fattogli da medesimi nel tempo del suo funerale."

[2] *Cod. Barber.* xxx. 132, foll. 127-135. "Epistola Superioris missionis Regni Scotiæ ad Em^mos^ Cardinales Congregationis de Propaganda Fide." A translation of the document is given in Appendix II.

as we know from other sources, send to Rome a report of his missionary labours. The document, however, was apparently penned, not by Father Ballantyne, but by one of his fellow-workers on the mission, for the writer makes repeated mention of the prefect, who, he informs us, had intrusted to him the task of replying to certain controversial works lately put forth by the preachers.[1] According to the report, it was to the influence and the importunity of these preachers that the persecution of the Scottish Catholics under Cromwell was chiefly due.[2] They spared neither calumnies nor violence in order to check the constantly increasing number of the adherents of the old faith; and the system of domestic inquisition and apprehensions on charges of Popery was becoming daily more intolerable. The writer relates how he himself, with two other priests, was captured in the castle of Strathbogie; and he adds that the commander of the guard assured him that he had in his possession an exact and detailed description of every priest in the country. He himself was soon set at liberty, but his com-

[1] *Ibid.*, fol. 129. "Quare ex rogatu præfecti missionis et multorum catholicorum illi libro respondendi mihi onus impositum est."

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 127. "Edictum, quod superiori anno importunitate et calumniis ministrorum contra Sacerdotes et Catholicos a Protectore Cromwellio extortum est, sex mensium spatio irritum permansit; omnes enim magistratus illud exsequi detrectarunt, donec tandem initio quadragesimæ præsidiarii quidam anabaptistæ multum a ministris sollicitati illud præstiterunt."

panions were detained for several months in prison at Edinburgh. The narrator goes on to denounce in vigorous terms the mendacious and calumnious utterances of the ministers, who had recently published at Aberdeen a work purporting to prove, on the testimony of Catholics, that Rome was Babylon, and all the Popes antichrists, from Boniface III. downwards. Tracts had also been circulated attacking the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist; and to these, as well as to the former work, the writer states that he was engaged, by desire of the prefect, in preparing replies, which he hoped would shortly be printed.

Conversions to Catholicism.

The number of conversions to the Catholic faith, he adds, was daily increasing, notwithstanding all the efforts of the preachers. Members of the highest nobility of the country—whose names, in view of the prevailing persecution, the writer deems it prudent to withhold—as well as of the inferior classes, had hearkened to the voice of truth and sought reconciliation to the ancient Church.[1] Some remarkable instances are given in the report of the power exercised by the ministers of the Church over the preternatural manifestations of diabolic agencies,—incidents which the writer testifies to have tended not a little to

[1] *Cod. Barberin. l.c.* fol. 130. "Ex plebe autem tanta conversio facta est, præcipue in Stradaria provincia partibus montanis proxima, et in dominatu Straboggiensi, ut in priore loco plures iique honestiores venerandis catholicorum mysteriis quam profano hæreticorum cultui intersunt."

the confusion of heretics and the conviction of atheists, already too numerous.

Secular priests on the Scotch mission.

During the period of which we are now treating, there was never wanting a succession of zealous and devoted priests, both of the secular and regular clergy, to serve on the mission in Scotland. The number of secular priests, however, in the country, during the reign of Charles I. and the rule of Cromwell, was very limited. In the year 1653, when we first have accurate information on the subject, they appear to have numbered only five, including the prefect, Father Ballantyne; and during the latter's term of office they never seem to have exceeded six.[1] It is to this circumstance, doubtless, that we must attribute the opposition of the regular clergy—themselves at this time a much more numerous body—to the nomination either of a prefect or a vicar-apostolic, with jurisdiction over the whole of Scotland.[2]

[1] This is corroborated by the words of Mgr. Bentivoglio, the nuncio at Brussels, in his report to the Holy See on the state of Scotland under James VI. (*Cod. Corsin.*, 35, E. 2, fol. 60.) "Si che hora in quel regno appena si possono contare sei o sette sacerdoti computato fra di loro qualche religioso dell' ordine di S. Francesco." Gordon (*Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. pp. 627) gives, from an old MS., a list of the secular priests on the Scotch Mission from the year 1653. [The four companions of the prefect in that year were Fathers Walker, Lumsden, Crichton, and Smith.—TRANSLATOR.]

[2] Archiv. Propag. Acta, 5 Aug. 1630, fol. 114. Report by Cardinal Trivulzio: "Deputatum procuratorem Laurentium de Paulis, Generalis Societatis Jesu procuratorem, qui multa opponit ne in Scotia superior constituatur. S. Congregatio jussit, eundem pro-

Gilbert Blakhal.

Among the secular clergy on the Scottish mission in the first half of the seventeenth century, the name of Gilbert Blakhal deserves a foremost place. In 1626 he entered the Scotch College, and having been ordained priest at Easter 1630, he returned to Scotland.[1] Finding, however, various obstacles in the way of his successful labours on the mission, he betook himself to Paris, where he acted for some time as assistant to M. Dorsay, a councillor of Parliament, who had taken orders when far advanced in years. Blakhal also filled the office of confessor to Lady Isabella Hay, daughter of the Earl of Errol, for whom he succeeded in obtaining a prebend from the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia of Spain, and so rendering her independent of her Protestant relations. In 1637, Blakhal came back to Scotland, and shortly afterwards became chaplain to Lady Aboyne, up to the time of whose death, which occurred in 1643, he laboured, chiefly in Aberdeenshire, with great zeal and success. The date of his death is unknown.[2]

curatorem Laurentium ac alios procuratores in dicto decreto nominatos iterum audiri."

[1] The editor of the *Breiffe Narration* assumes that Blakhal on his ordination proceeded directly to Paris. The statement in the text is made on the authority of Abbé M'Pherson (cited by Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 523), who gives in some detail the opposition which Blakhal encountered in Scotland at the hands of the Jesuits.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Blakhal has left us an interesting and valuable record of his labours in the *Breiffe Narration of Services done to Three Noble Ladyes*, published by the Spalding Club in 1844.

Contemporary with Blakhal, although some years his senior, was Father Robert Phillip of Sanquhar, who in 1613 was denounced by his own father, carried to Edinburgh, tried, and condemned to lose his head for the crime of being a priest.[1] The sentence was commuted to banishment, and Phillip retired to France, where he became an Oratorian under Berulle, and afterwards accompanied Henrietta Maria to England as one of her chaplains. In 1641 he again suffered imprisonment for the faith. Thomas Chalmers was another Scottish priest, who, after several years in the mission at home, withdrew to France, probably under sentence of banishment. He was appointed almoner to Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin successively, and did much to assist the mission in Scotland both with money and in other ways.[2] Alexander Robertson arrived in Scotland from Germany in 1635, at a time when the persecution was at its hottest; and such, we are told, were the efforts made to apprehend him, at the instance of Weems, the minister of the Canongate in Edinburgh, that he was forced to quit his lodgings in a violent snowstorm, and to fly for

Robert Phillip.

Thomas Chalmers.

Alexander Robertson.

[1] Gordon, *op. cit.*, vol. iv. p. 607. Phillip confessed himself guilty of having returned to Scotland "off purpois and intentioun to convert saules to the Romane religioun." He was accused (see Pitcairn, *Crim. Trials*, vol. iii. p. 252) of having said mass on one occasion "in grit solemnitie, with his mess claithes, consecrat alter, mess buik, and with his uther superstitious rites and ceremonies belonging thairto."—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 534.

Andrew Robertson.

his life. Another Father Robertson (Andrew), an *alumnus* of the Scotch College at Rome, came on the mission in 1621, and must have laboured there for many years; for in 1643 we hear of his capture by the Laird of Birkenbog, and subsequent confinement, first at Aberdeen and then in Edinburgh.[1]

George Cone.

No one, perhaps, rendered better service to the Church in Scotland during this period than George Cone, who may claim to reckon as one of the most learned of the Scotch secular clergy in the seventeenth century. He was of good family, and was educated at the colleges at Douay and Rome, completing his training at the university of Bologna.[2] Before entering the clerical state he filled for some time the office of preceptor to the son of the Duke of Mirandola, and he was afterwards secretary successively to Cardinals Montalto[3] and Barberini.[4] Cone accompanied Cardinal Barberini to Paris when the latter was appointed legate at the French Court, and he wrote there his interesting work on the religious state of Scotland.[5] He was highly esteemed by

[1] Gordon, *op. cit.*, vol. iv. p. 609.

[2] He also spent some time in the Scotch College at Paris.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] Probably Andrea Peretti of Montalto (great-nephew of Sixtus V.), who was named Cardinal-Deacon by Clement VIII. in 1596, and died at Rome in 1629. See Novaes, *Storia de' Sommi Pontefici*, vol. ix. p. 31.

[4] Francesco Barberini, nephew of Urban VIII. (Cardella, *Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali*, vol. vi. p. 239.)

[5] *De Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos Libri duo. Ad Illus-*

Pope Urban VIII., who named him canon of St Laurence in Damaso, in Rome, and also appointed him one of his domestic prelates, and secretary of the Congregation of Rites.[1]

Cone at the Court of Charles I.

From the summer of 1636 until the autumn of 1639 Cone occupied the important position of Papal agent at the English Court; and in his letters addressed to Cardinal Barberini from Hampton Court he has left us some interesting particulars of his relations with Charles I.[2] The principal subject of his communications with that monarch appears to have been the form of oath prescribed by James I. to his Catholic subjects, and requiring them not only to profess their loyalty and allegiance to the sovereign, but also to expressly repudiate the doctrine that the Pope has the power of deposing secular princes. The Holy See had rightly refused to sanction such an oath, as obviously going beyond the limits of a lawful profession of loyalty, and censuring a theological opinion on which no formal Papal

The oath of allegiance.

triss^{mum} *Principem Card. Barberinum, Magnæ Britanniæ Protectorem*· Romæ, Typis Vaticanis, 1628.

[1] It seems to have been further intended, had not his death come in the way, to bestow upon Cone a Cardinal's hat. "But had he returned to this island with it," wrote Sir Thomas Urquhart (cited by Burton, *The Scot Abroad*, vol. ii. p. 69), "I doubt it would have proved ere now as fatal to him as another such like cap in Queen Marie's time had done to his compatriot Cardinal Betoun."—Translator.

[2] The letters in question, which are in the British Museum (No. 15,389), were first published by Ranke (*Englische Geschichte im* 17 *Jahrhundert*, vol. viii. pp. 136-140).

decision had been given. It would seem, from Cone's own account of his conversation with Charles on the subject, that the king was not only indisposed to introduce a new and modified formula, but was equally reluctant to comply with the suggestion made to him by the Papal agents that he should use his own authority to dispense the Catholics from the obnoxious oath ordered by Parliament. "Sire," was Cone's remark, "we Catholics maintain that your Majesty stands above the Parliament;" to which Charles rejoined that this was true in principle, but there was great difficulty in reducing it to practice.[1]

Self-contradictory attitude of the king.

The dilemma in which the king now found himself was no doubt due, as Ranke points out, to his reluctance to abandon his well-known doctrine of the divine right of kings, which neither the Pope nor any other human authority could subvert.[2] Nothing could, in fact, have been more self-contradictory than his present attitude; for while, in theory at least, he claimed for the Crown the most unlimited powers, he showed himself in practice afraid or unwilling to avail himself of them in order to dispense

[1] Ranke, *op. cit.*, vol. viii. p. 138. "Io disse, Sire, noi teniamo Vostra Maestà sopra il Parlamente. Egli risposo che era vero, ma che bisognava pensare alle difficoltà grandissime, e pertanto era più facile al Papa di compiacerlo a dare licenza alli Cattolici di pigliarlo."

[2] *Ibid.* "Il Rè mi dimandò se non mi pareva che fosse opinione cattiva il sottoporre l'autorità regia ai capricci d'un uomo."

his subjects from the legal obligation imposed upon them.

His injustice towards his Catholic subjects.

It was doubtless the theological bias, with which the mind of Charles was so deeply tinged, that not only blinded him to any true notion of right and justice in relation to his Catholic subjects, but also prevented him from comprehending the real position of his own Church. Before his marriage he had, as we know, solemnly promised freedom of belief and worship to the co-religionists of his Catholic queen. When, however, appealed to by Cone against the gross injustice of permitting Catholics to be continually harassed and denounced for their faith, the king rejoined by animadversions on the manner in which, as he asserted, the Catholics had abused his clemency, by openly solemnising baptisms and marriages, and, not content with hearing mass in the queen's chapel, holding unlawful assemblies in the court and various apartments of the palace—thus, as it appeared to him, courting their own destruction.[1] That the king not only failed to compre-

[1] Ranke, vol. viii. p. 139. "Al che il Re rispose, che facendo cosi, non sarebbe facile il frenare l'insolenza dei Cattolici, quali abusavano talvolta della clemenza Sua con grave scandalo degli altri sudditi, dicendo che non sapevano governarsi bene e goder dell' esercizio privato della loro religione, senza far atti publici per necessitarlo a gastigarli, e di questo contò diversi esempli di matrimonio, batesimi, testamenti e cose simili, e che non contentandosi di sentir messa nella capella della Regina, si radunavano nel cortile e nelle stanze del palazzo senza proposito, ed in somma che pareva cercassero il proprio male."

hend his own duties towards his Catholic subjects, but also the general condition of his kingdom, seems clear from the remarks which he made to Cone about the tranquillity of the country, at a time when he had, in fact, entirely forfeited the confidence of the people of Scotland. As to his personal sentiments, they would appear from Cone's narrative to have been at this time more remote than ever from an approximation to Catholicism, and he expressed himself as altogether opposed to any recognition of the Council of Trent.[1]

Cone quits England.

The mission of George Cone to the English Court was thus, as we should have anticipated, barren of result. In the autumn of 1639 the Papal agent returned to Rome, where he died on January 10, 1640. His remains repose in the church of St Laurence in Damaso, beneath a monument erected to his memory by his friend and patron Cardinal Barberini, and inscribed with an appropriate epitaph.[2]

His death, January 10, 1640.

[1] Ranke, vol. viii. p. 140. "Che la Chiesa Romana stava altiera e resoluta in certe cose, come in defendere il Concilio di Trento."

[2] The inscription runs thus: "D. O. M. Georgio Connæo, Scoto Aberdonensi, Patricii domini de Achry, ex antiqua Macdonaldi familia, et Isabellæ Chyn ex Baronibus de Esselmont filio, qui inter contemporaneos eloquentia et doctrina Duaci et Romæ haustis, librisque editis, immortalitati se commendavit, prudentia vero et agendi dexteritate, summorum Principum et præsertim Cardinalis Barberini, in cujus aula diu vixit, cujusque legationes, Gallicanam Hispanicamque secutus est, benevolentiam promeruit; quem Urbanus VIII. Pontifex, ingeniorum maximus existimator, quanti fecerit, et ad Magnæ Britanniæ Reginam Henrichettam, in Catholi-

The Scotch College at Madrid.

Colonel William Sempill.

A college for the education of Scotch secular clergy was opened in 1633 in Madrid. It owed its origin to the generosity of Colonel William Sempill, a cadet of the noble family of that name, who spent many years in the service of the Spanish monarchs. He was said to have been sent by Philip II. with despatches to Scotland, and after the dispersion of the Spanish Armada, to have been thrown into prison by James VI.[1] Escaping with much difficulty, he returned to Spain, where he founded by his last will and testament (dated February 10, 1633), a college for the education of students for the Scotch mission.[2] The records of the Congregation of Propaganda would seem to confirm the view that the King of Spain was personally concerned in the new foundation ; for we find the Congregation, on February 19, 1647, recommending to the consideration of the Pope the king's petition that the Scotch College should enjoy the same privileges as

corum solamen allegatione, et ingenti in ipsius morte quæ, ne in editore loco positus clarius elucesceret, vetuerit mærore testatus est. Obiit die 10. Januarii, an. 1640, in ædibus Vicecancellarii, qui amico funus amplissimum in hac Basilica faciendum curavit, et monumentum posuit. *Φῶς ἐν σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν.*"

[1] According to Cone (*De Duplici Statu*, p. 145), the object of Sempill's mission to Scotland was to negotiate a marriage between James VI. and the Infanta Isabella.—Translator.

[2] The charter of foundation is entitled "Escriptura de Fundacion y Dotacion del Seminario de Coligiales Seglares Escoceses en la Villa de Madrid." [It was printed at length in the *Miscellaneous Papers* of the Maitland Club, 1834.—Translator.]

other similar institutions in his kingdom.[1] Owing to a variety of causes, the seminary at Madrid, which was usually administered by Spanish Jesuits, was of but little benefit to the Scotch mission for many years after its foundation. After the suppression of the Society, however, the college was transferred to Valladolid, where it still continues to flourish; and in 1772 Mr John Geddes (afterwards bishop) was sent out with twelve Scottish students to take possession of the new seminary.

Transference of the college to Valladolid.

The Jesuits on the Scotch mission.

William Christie, S.J.

Among the labourers on the Scotch mission during the period of which we are now treating, the Jesuit fathers of course occupy a conspicuous place. We have already spoken of Father William Christie (called the younger), who was said in a letter from Father Mambrecht, dated April 7, 1628, to have converted upwards of four hundred persons, and who assisted at the edifying death of the Marquis of Huntly, in July 1536. He appears to have been Rector of Douai in 1650.[2] Contemporary with him was Father John Leslie, who came on the mission in 1623,

John Leslie, S.J.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 334, 19 Febr. 1647. *Responsum.* "Si S^mo placuerit, petitioni ejus Majestatis esse annuendum, deleta clausula quod dictum Collegium sit exemptum a jurisdictione Nuntiorum Apostolicorum apud Reges Catholicos pro tempore."

The above extract would appear to corroborate to some extent the statement made by Oliver in his *Collections, S.J.* (p. 15), that "the King of Spain was the founder; yet some other individuals, especially Col. Semple, were great benefactors."—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 536.

and died seven years later. One of his letters to Vitelleschi, the General of the Society, written on September 30, 1633, gives an interesting account of the recent entry of Charles I. into Edinburgh, and his coronation at Holyrood, concluding with some reflections on the conflicting sentiments and passions by which the people were at that time swayed.[1] Another Father of the Society, named John Robertson, appears to have twice suffered imprisonment. Father Mambrecht, in his letter cited above, dated April 7, 1628, says, "This Father was still detained in prison;" and sixteen years later, we hear of his arrival at Douai, "cast into exile after eleven months' imprisonment."[2] We learn from the same authority that Father James Seton, whose zeal had made him specially obnoxious to the Protestant bishops, was forced to fly from Scotland, and withdrew to Germany. He subsequently returned to Scotland, but finding himself unable to withstand the "heat of the persecution and the virulence of the Kirk ministers," he sailed for Norway, and we hear no more of him afterwards.[3] Robert Valens entered

John Robertson, S.J.

James Seton, S.J.

Robert Valens, S.J.

[1] "Plura hujus Parliamenti acta in gravissimum et evidentissimum Reipublicæ et populi damnum tendunt, ut jactatum ex populi voce fuerit, Regis in Scotiam adventum Christi in Hierosolymum ingressui similem fuisse, cui Palmarum die canebatur *Hosanna in excelsis*, &c.; paucis diebus post ingeminabatur, Crucifige, crucifige. Narratum hoc ab Joanne Leslæo, Insularum non pridem Episcopo, homine liberrimo, prandenti Regi in utriusque Regni confinio; quo audito illico abstinuit a cibo."

[2] Oliver, *Collections, S.J.*, p. 37.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

the Scotch College at Rome in 1610, but left it to enter the Society. A letter from him, dated Edinburgh, June 16, 1626, describes the danger he incurred by his residence in that city, where, however, he was able greatly to console the persecuted Catholics. It was only with the utmost difficulty that he had succeeded in evading the vigilance of the Kirk, which had appointed twenty "Puritan zealots" to hunt out the Catholics of the town and neighbourhood. Forced at length to fly to England, we learn from a letter of Father James Mambrecht (April 3, 1644), that he had been apprehended and imprisoned.[1] Francis Spreule had been a Presbyterian minister, of considerable reputation for zeal and learning. The Synod of Galloway appointed him to live with Lord Nithsdale, whom he was to gain over, if possible, to his own persuasion. So far, however, from succeeding in his design, Spreule was himself converted to the Catholic faith by Father John Wilkie, Lord Nithsdale's Jesuit chaplain, whom he followed into the Society. Under the name of Murray, he afterwards laboured on the mission in Scotland with much success. Another Jesuit Father, named John Smith, was living in Aberdeen in 1656, under the name of Gray. A party of soldiers broke into the house of Robert Warring, where he was residing, seized his books and sacred vessels, and arraying themselves in his

Francis Spreule, S.J.

John Smith, S.J.

[1] Oliver, *Collections, S.J.*, p. 39.

vestments, marched in this fashion round the market-cross of the city. Fortunately the missionary himself escaped. Father Smith appears to have been instrumental in the conversion, in the year 1644, of the laird of Pitfodels, chief of the family of Menzies.[1]

Prominent among the Scottish Jesuits at this period were the two Fathers Mambrecht, John and James. The former, who was also known under the name of Du Pre, after serving on the mission for some time, became confessor to the French embassy in London. From his letter already referred to, dated April 7, 1628, he appears to have been well known to, and held in esteem by, King James I.[2] Early in 1626 Father Mambrecht returned to labour in Scotland, but a few months later was apprehended at Dundee, at the instance of the Bishop of Brechin, and committed to Edinburgh jail. He was sentenced to be hanged, and the death-warrant was actually signed by Charles I., who, however, revoked it at the earnest solicitation of his queen and of the mother of the Duke of Buckingham. The good Father thus escaped the martyrdom for which in his loathsome prison he had continually prayed; and after long and rigorous confinement, was banished from the kingdom in June 1627.

John Mambrecht, S.J.

Sentenced to death.

[1] Oliver, *Collections, S.J.*, p. 38.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 29. "Jacobo Regi familiarissimus per annum fui, etiam illi notus, ut Societatis nostræ."

He retired to Poland, and ended his saintly life at Warsaw three years later.[1]

James Mambrecht, S.J.

The same year that Father John Mambrecht quitted Scotland, his near relation, Father James, entered upon his missionary labours. After residing for many years as chaplain to George Seton, third Earl of Winton, he found himself compelled by the fury of the persecution to seek refuge for a time in England, but he returned to Scotland very shortly afterwards. Writing on December 17, 1640, he states his opinion that all their former and present afflictions are but the prelude to future evils. "Within the last ten days," he continues, "orders have been published throughout Scotland not to sell anything to Catholics, or buy anything of them. Many are already deprived of their rents and income. Several Catholics have offered three-fourths of their property, provided they may keep the remaining fourth for the maintenance of themselves and their families, and even this is refused. Nay, our adversaries impiously swear that not a single Catholic shall live or remain in Scotland by the end of the year. . . . A noble baron, seventy years old and more, was seized in England, and brought to Edinburgh, whose family they ruined, whose property they have confiscated; at the end of six months' imprisonment, he died most piously on the 3d of the present month. On the

His description of the evil state of Scotland.

[1] Oliver, *Collections, S.J.*, p. 29.

30th of November, the Feast of St Andrew, the tutelary saint of Scotland, one of our Fathers [apparently the writer himself] paid him a visit, and succeeded on the following night, with imminent danger to himself, to say mass, and administer the holy sacraments. There is no one for us but the good Jesus; yet, if He be for us, what matter who is against us? The only concern I have had during nearly the two last years is, that I remain *alone* in this southern part of the kingdom, and I have no one whose help I can procure for the good of my soul, and every hour I expect either to be taken, or compelled to quit the country."[1] In a subsequent letter, dated June 13, 1641, Father Mambrecht describes the virulent persecution, then at its height in Scotland. "The Puritans," he says, "seek to extinguish every spark of orthodoxy, that every vestige and the very name of Catholic may be effaced. Against those who decline to take the Covenant, the proceedings are carried on with an extremity of rigour." And writing a year later, he describes the fanatical violence evinced by the Kirk Assemblies in regard to the images of Christ and His holy Mother, and narrates some curious incidents attending the destruction of the venerable market-cross of Inderhiden,[2] in Fifeshire.[3]

Violent feelings against Catholics.

[1] Oliver, *Collections, S.J.*, p. 29.

[2] Query, *Inverkeithing?*

[3] Father Mambrecht relates that a mason had actually mounted the scaffold for the purpose of breaking the sacred image; but

In this and subsequent letters Father Mambrecht gives an account of the various tyrannical measures enforced against Catholics, who were commanded to dismiss all their Catholic servants, and to send their children to heretical schools. Ten years subsequently we hear of him again, a close prisoner in Edinburgh jail, where he was visited by Father Robert Gall, and received holy communion at his hands.[1] After eleven months' confinement, he was banished by order of the Government, and retired to Douai.

Letters from Robert Gall, S.J., to the General.

The report given by Father Mambrecht of the religious state of Scotland at this time is confirmed by letters written by Father Robert Gall himself to Goswin Nickel, the General of the Society.[1] From these it appears that in the years 1647 and 1648 the Jesuit missionaries were the only priests actually in the country, and that they were suffering the greatest hardships.[2] Father Gall left behind him, we are told, the reputation of a "solid religious, an excellent scholar, and a discreet and vigilant superior."[3] Father Alexander Ogilvie

Alexander Ogilvie, S.J.

hastily coming down under pretence of wanting a tool, he fled from the town, declaring that nothing would induce him to commit the sacrilegious act. Another man was soon found to do the work; but he had no sooner accomplished it, than he was suddenly struck with paralysis in every limb, and still continued helpless and bedridden.—TRANSLATOR.

[1] One of these letters, dated October 23, 1653, was intercepted, and is published in Thurlow's *State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 538, 539.

[2] Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 21. "Nunc, si unquam alias, verissime sunt pauperrimi Jesu Socii; vix enim habent ubi caput reclinent."

[3] *Ibid.*

also laboured in Scotland about this time, suffering first several years' imprisonment and then banishment for the faith. Another Jesuit Father named Dempster, after teaching philosophy and theology at the Scotch College in Rome, came on the mission in 1650, and was made prisoner at Edinburgh in the following year.[1] During his confinement he challenged the Presbytery of Edinburgh to a religious disputation, and also wrote an exhortation to Catholics to endure their trials with patience. Father Dempster was afterwards rector of the college at Rome, but returned to Scotland in 1663. He died at Douai in 1667.[2]

Thomas Dempster, S.J.

Among the regular clergy labouring on the Scottish mission during this period, we find not only Jesuits, but also members of the Franciscan, Capuchin, Benedictine, and Lazarist Orders. As early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, Irish priests began to cross over to Scotland, in order to afford to the distressed Catholics of that country the consolations of religion. These missionaries appear to have been ecclesiastically sub-

Irish missionaries in Scotland.

[1] Abbé M'Pherson relates that Dempster was betrayed by a soldier, who came to the father to make a pretended confession, and whose comrades, by preconcerted arrangement, broke into the room when the supposed penitent was on his knees. The same soldier afterwards hired a room in the city and made a considerable sum of money by exhibiting himself, for the charge of sixpence, attired in Father Dempster's sacerdotal vestments.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] The author has given in the Appendix three lists of Scotch Jesuits, from 1593 to 1629. As these are merely reprinted from an easily accessible work (Foley, *Records S.J.*, vol. vii.), the translator has thought it unnecessary to reproduce them.

ject to the Archbishop of Armagh, whom we find claiming for the occupant of that illustrious see the primacy not only of Ireland, but in past times of Scotland also.[1] In the year 1619 we meet with the names of Irish Franciscans on the Scottish mission. Edmund Cone, Patrick Brady, and a lay brother called John Stewart, came to Scotland in that year from the Irish convent at Louvain. After two years of fruitful labour, Cone was thrown into prison, and subsequently banished; but a little later three more Franciscan Fathers—Cornelius Ward, O'Neill, and Patrick Hegerty—were sent to Scotland at the instance of Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin. The nuncio at Brussels, while sending to Rome Father Ward's report of his labours, observed that he had charged the archbishop to do all in his power to console the missionaries, and to assure them of his support.[2]

Fathers Cone and Brady, O.S.F.

Fathers Ward, O'Neill, and Hegerty, O.S.F.

Successful labours of Father Ward.

It was reported to Propaganda on February 6, 1626, that Cornelius Ward, of the Order of St Francis, had reconciled to the Church three hundred and eighty-two heretics in the Hebrides.

[1] See Moran, *Hist. of the Archbishops of Dublin*, vol. i. p. 363. In a petition to Pope Paul V. in 1618, Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh, stated that the occupant of that see was "primus totius Hiberniæ, et erat aliquando etiam Scotiæ, et est antiquissimus metropolitanus omnium Britannorum regnorum atque insularum."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 365. "Lettera del Nunzio, 5 Gennajo, 1626. Ho risposto all' Arcivescovo che conforti li suddetti missionari a seguitare l'opera felicemente cominciata, assicurandolo che non se gli mancherà somministrare gli ajuti necessari."

Converts to the Catholic faith.

Father Ward was also stated to have converted one of the principal Protestants of Caithness, who was at the point of death, but who, after receiving the holy viaticum, recovered his health, and proceeded, "like another Paul, to confound his heretical neighbours." Some singular circumstances were also related in connection with a cemetery in Skye, dedicated to St Ninian.[1] A report from the nuncio at Brussels, dated in September of the same year, mentions further instances of conversions, among them being that of "a young minister from the mountain districts, named Reginald," whom the nuncio had sent to the new Irish College at Louvain.[2] Writing in the following March, the nuncio refers to one of these converts as the "Baron of Hilder," who, he adds, had been

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 31, 6 Febr. 1626. "Ex relatione Fr. Cornelii Vardeni Ordinis minor. de observantia, unius ex quatuor missionariis ad partes Scotiæ montanas directis, infrascripta recitavi: 1°, Quod dictus frater in insulis Hebridibus ad partes occidentales Scotiæ positis hæreticos 382 ad fidem catholicam reduxit. 2°, Quod unus ex præcipuis hæreticis Kinthisiæ [Caithness] dum in extremis laboraret, ad fidem catholicam conversus sacro viatico sumpto statim convaluit, et paulo post, sicut alter Paulus, confundebat alios hæreticos. 3°, Et ult° quod in insula Sada [Skye] reperitur Capella S. Niniani cum cœmeterio, in quo 14 corpora Sanctorum requiescant, et duo mira de ipsis referuntur: 1°, Quod animalia bruta dum cœmeterium ingrediuntur, vel statim intereunt, vel gravi morbo laborant; 2°, Quod si ex dicto cœmeterio aliquid asportatur, illud miraculose ad eum locum revertitur."

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 121, 11 Septemb. 1726. The nuncio at Brussels reports: "1°, Missionarios ad montana Scotiæ plenissimam relationem ad S. Congregationem misisse. 2°, Convertisse ministrum juvenem Reginaldum ex partibus montanis, quem Nuntius in novo Hiberniæ Lovanensium collegio collocavit."

thrown into prison, where he then lay at the risk of his life, for openly professing his faith before the Privy Council of Scotland.[1] Robert Menteath, the minister of Duddingston, became a Catholic in 1638, and was banished from Scotland. He entered the ecclesiastical state in Paris, where Cardinal du Retz bestowed upon him a canonry of Notre Dame.[2]

Report of Father Brady to Propaganda, April 1627.

On April 16, 1627, the Congregation received from Edinburgh a report from a Franciscan missionary named John Brady, who states therein that he had been attacked, when travelling, by fourteen ministers, thrown from his horse, and so grievously wounded that he remained for an hour all but lifeless. He further relates that his vestments and holy oil vessels were taken from him, and publicly committed to the flames at Edinburgh; but that, to the wonder of all, the said vessels with their precious contents remained un-

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 145, 8 Mart. 1627. Report of the Brussels nuncio: "Baronem de Hilder (?) Scotum, unum ex conversis anno præterito ad fidem catholicam, carceribus fuisse mancipatum, in eisque manere cum vitæ discrimine, quia coram Senatu Scotiæ libere eam fidem professus est."

[2] Menteath published in 1661 his *Histoire des troubles de la grande Bretagne depuis l'an* 1633 *jusques* 1649. The English translation, printed in 1635, is entitled "by Robert Menteth of Salmonet." As to this latter designation, a strange story is told by Chambers (*Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 70)—viz., that Menteath, on his arrival in France, finding the advantages attaching to honourable descent, described himself as a "Menteath of Salmonet"—which highly sounding title really meant nothing more than that his father was a common fisherman, hauling a *salmon-net* on the river Forth at Stirling!—TRANSLATOR.

injured in the midst of the fire.[1] As many as ten thousand heretics were said to have been converted by the Franciscans in the Highlands of Scotland, which had been in consequence divided into some twenty missionary parishes. The Cardinals appear to have doubted the accuracy of this report, and to have referred for its confirmation to the nuncio at Paris. Further inquiries corroborated the statement as to the extraordinary number of conversions, and the Congregation were, moreover, informed that Father Cornelius Ward, on account of his share in the work, had been kept in the strictest confinement in London for fifteen months, and less vigorously imprisoned for nine more. He owed his liberation to the good offices of the Polish ambassador, but was subsequently banished.[2] According to a report from the Scot-

Numerous conversions in the Highlands.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 212, 16 Mart. 1627. "1°, Eundem Johannem a 14 ministris Scotis in itinere aggressum, et ex equo dejectum pluribus vulneribus fuisse confossum, ita ut per unam horam exanimis permanserit. 2°, Eidem fuisse ablatas vestes sacerdotales et vascula sacrorum oleorum, quæ omnia in platea Edinburgi publice ignibus tradita fuerunt, sed summa omnium admiratione contigit, ut vascula prædicta cum sacris oleis intacta in mediis flammis permanserint. 3°, Demum in montanis Scotiæ numerus hæreticorum per missionarios Franciscanos conversorum ad summam decem millium auctum fuisse, ita ut jam 20 aut 22 parochiæ per eosdem missionarios fuisse institutæ."

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 44, 4 April 1634. "Quod idem Pater Cornelius ac ejus socii revera in prædictis locis missionis fuerint, ibique multa millia hominum ad fidem catholicam converterint; et quod idem P. Cornelius propter conversiones in insulis Hebridibus factas fuit in strictissimo carcere Londini per 15 menses, et per alios 9 menses in alio laxiori detentus, a quo tandem oratoris Regis Poloniæ officiis liberatus fuit, addito exilio. *Decretum;* Accusationem repellendam

tish Franciscans, submitted to Propaganda on May 8, 1628, the number of persons converted through their instrumentality amounted to ten thousand two hundred and sixty-nine.[1] One of the Fathers, Patrick Hegerty, sent to the Congregation in 1633 a relation as to the results of his labours in the Hebrides, from which it appears that he had reconciled two thousand two hundred and twenty-nine persons to the Church, baptised twelve hundred and twenty-two, and solemnised a hundred and seventeen marriages.[2] At his instance a grant of money was made by Propaganda in support of Fathers Brady and Ward, who were now advanced in years. On July 19, 1638, Cardinal Pamfili (afterwards Pope Innocent X.) reported that according to a letter received from Father Ward, that zealous missionary had during the two previous years converted a thousand and seventy-four persons (among them being a preacher), baptised a hundred and ninety-one, and celebrated thirty-one marriages. This statement was confirmed by a letter subsequently received from the Bishop of Down and Connor, in Ireland.[3]

Relation of Father Hegerty, 1633.

missionemque prædictam continuandam, si Dominus Georgius Conæus nihil habeat in contrarium. Conæus respondit, Nihil habeo."

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 61, 8 Maii 1628.

[2] *Ibid.*, 30 Sept. 1633. Relatio Fratris Patritii Ordinis Minorum de observ. in insulis Hebridibus prope Scotiam.

[3] *Ibid.*, fol. 120, 19 Julii 1638. Moran (*Spicileg. Ossor.*, vol. i. p. 223) prints a report from Father Ward to the Bishop of Down and Connor which gives a graphic picture of the life of the mis-

Father Hegerty wrote to the Prefect of the Congregation from Bunmargy on October 31, 1639, that he had reconciled to the Church some seventy persons, the majority being members of prominent families, in the Hebrides and West Highlands; and that these had been duly admitted to the sacraments of penance and the Holy Eucharist, in the Franciscan convent at Bunmargy, and had afterwards been confirmed by the Bishop of Down.[1] In the following year Father Hegerty was able to report that the number of converts in the same district had

sionaries in the Hebrides. "The labour of the mission," he says [we translate from the Latin original], "in those remote and barbarous spots is almost indescribable, and beyond the belief of the Romans. Sometimes the same missionary has been there in different years for six months together, without tasting any kind of drink except water and milk; *lacticinia* [butter, cheese, &c.] form their principal food, and in summer they can hardly procure bread. In the Hebrides and the Highlands of Scotland there is no city, no town, no school, no civilisation: no one can read except a few who have been educated at a great distance from home. At length when the aforesaid missionary found himself without wine or hosts for the holy sacrifice, he betook himself by long and circuitous routes, and not without great toil and hardship, to the city of Edinburgh. And when he at last made his way back to the mountains with the bread and wine, he fell into a very serious illness."

[1] Moran, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 245, 246. "This very year the God of all consolation has deigned through my labours, however unworthy, to turn to the Catholic faith some seventy Scotchmen, sprung for the most part from distinguished families of the Highlands and Islands. All these, after confession of their sins and reception of Holy Communion in this our convent of Bunmargy, were fortified with the sacrament of confirmation at the hands of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Down and Connor."

reached a hundred and ten.[1] A few years later Father Scarampi, an Irish Franciscan, who was desirous of sending to the Hebrides four missionaries of his order—namely, Fathers Edmund Cone, Patrick Brady, Paul and Daniel O'Neill—

Subsidy to the mission in the Hebrides.

was promised by Propaganda, for three years, a payment of sixty scudi for each of them.[2] The last document in the archives of the Congregation, relating to the Franciscan mission in the West Highlands, is a letter written by Father Hegerty from Waterford on August 29, 1644. The zealous religious thanks God for his deliverance from prison, where he had been detained five years by the Scottish Protestants, and begs the support of the Congregation in resuming his missionary career.[3] The Franciscans had some years previously, in 1626, endeavoured to secure a permanent succession of labourers on the Scotch mission, by founding, with the help of the Infanta Isabella and other benefactors, a convent of their Order at Douai.[4]

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 148, 20 Aug. 1640 (reported by Cardinal Francesco Barberini). "Literæ P. Patritii Hegertii, præfecti missionis fratrum minorum in Insulis Hebridibus et montanis Scotiæ, de conversione 110 Scotorum hæreticorum præcipuarum familiarum in dictis insulis degentium."

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 181, 29 Nov. 1644, et fol. 304, 22 Jan. 1647.

[3] "Benedictus sit Deus misericors, qui servi sui indigni humilitatem respiciens e carceribus, in quos hæretici me detruserant, ibique in magnis ærumnis per continuos ferme quinque annos jacueram, me eripere dignatus est." See the same author's *Fruits of Irish Faith* (Scotland), pp. 6, 8.

[4] Dancoisne, *Histoire des Établissements religieux Britanniques*

Capuchins in the Scotch mission.

The Fathers of the Capuchin Order, as well as the Franciscans proper, were distinguished by the active and fruitful part which they took at this period in the evangelisation of Scotland. On May 23, 1608, Pope Paul V., at the instance of Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, Protector of the Scottish Catholics, extended to the Capuchin missionaries in that country the same privileges as were already enjoyed by the other religious orders. Among these missionaries the name of Father Epiphanius Lindsay deserves a foremost place. A scion of the illustrious family of that name, he received his education in the Scotch College at Louvain, and after receiving holy orders returned to his native country, where he was the means of reconciling a large number of Protestants to the Church.[1] Being, however, arrested and imprisoned, he was condemned to death as a Catholic priest, the penalty being

Epiphanius Lindsay.

Condemned to death and banished.

fondés à Douai, p. 100. "Nous soussignés, frères recollets de la nation escossoisse, estons envoyé en ceste ville de Douay par nos supérieurs pour prendre possession de quelques maisons . . . à nous données par le R. Père Pasteur de Masny, etc. Était signé : Fr. Joannes Ogilvinus, præses ff. Min. Missionis Scotiæ : Fr. Sylv. Robertsonius, ejusd. missionis prædicator."

[1] Dempster, *Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scot.*, p. 434. "Epiphanius Lindsay, nobili sanguine non longe Dumfrisio oriundus, sed factis et morum continentia nobilior, Capucinorum regulæ se tradens, crebro in patriam remissus, hæreticos disputando impietatis convicit." The author of the MS. *Mémoire de la Mission des Capucins près la Reyne d'Angleterre* styles Lindsay "le plus ancien, et j'ose quasy dire le plus laborieux et plus zélé des missionaires que j'ai connus." See Rocco da Cesinale, *Storia delle missione dei Capuccini*, vol. ii. p. 401.

afterwards commuted to banishment. Lindsay betook himself to the Netherlands, where he entered the Order of Capuchins, and then returned to Scotland to labour on the mission. Disguised as a peasant, he traversed the mountainous districts of the Highlands, exercising his holy functions for the benefit of rich and poor, and welcomed in every part of the country as an angel of peace and reconciliation. We subjoin an extract from a letter written by Father Lindsay to his brother in religion, Cyprian de Gamuches. "I came to Scotland," he says, "in 1620, only three priests being then known to me; and for ten years I exercised my ministry in the southern and western parts of the country. Then there sprang up a furious persecution of the Catholics. A nobleman, with the approval of the higher authorities, collected a force of three or four hundred horse and foot, invaded the dwellings of the Catholics, seized their property, and threw them into prison. . . . He was succeeded by the preacher Ramsay, who became insane; then came John Brown, another preacher, who died a sudden death; next a viscount, who was carried off in ten days; and lastly a preacher named Gladmat (*sic*), who proved the most bitterly hostile of all to the Catholics. He burst into my house with an armed party, tore up books and vestments, seized the best things for himself, and had

Outbreak of persecution against Catholics, 1630.

everything else publicly burnt. He proudly bragged of these deeds from the pulpit; but two months later he bit his tongue through with his teeth and gave up the ghost. Four years I spent here quite alone, without any companion. Three times I was betrayed, but never taken: the first informer denounced me to Lord Dunbar for a cloak and a hundred marks, the second to the preacher Thomas Renns, for a like sum. The preacher hunted through the whole house with his bailiffs, but did not find me, for I was concealed in the neighbouring wood. The third informer betrayed me to a Protestant kinsman; but being informed of the matter, I fled." In spite of his disturbed and unquiet life, this father attained to the great age of eighty-four, receiving from the Jesuit Father Clerk the last consolations of religion before his death. His name occurs in the Records of Propaganda under the date 1647, in which year, on account of his having failed to report on the state of his mission, the allowance granted for his support was diminished.[1]

Father Archangel Leslie.

Another well-known name among the Capuchin missionaries in Scotland at this time is that of Father Archangel Leslie, an account of whose career was given by Rinuccini, Archbishop of

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, 22 Januar. 1647. "Unam tantam annatam scutorum 50."

Fermo, in his singular work entitled *Il Capucinno Scozzese*.[1] According to Rinuccini, George Leslie was born at Monymusk, near Aberdeen, of Protestant parents, and was converted to Catholicism at Paris, whither he had been sent for his education. In company with two friends, he travelled by way of Milan and Loretto to Rome, entered the Scotch College there, and subsequently resolved to become a Capuchin. He was at first refused admission, whereupon he sought an audience of Pope Paul V., to whom he narrated the history of his youth, his conversion, and disinheritance. "Go in peace," were the Pope's words; "and if the Father-General still hesitates to receive you, say to him in our name that we ourselves admit you into the Order."[2] We next hear of the young Capuchin, now Father Archangel, appointed court-preacher to Mary de Medicis, Regent of France, and a little later associated with two other Fathers of his Order, named Joseph and Leonard, in a missionary journey to Great Britain. Leslie entered England in the

His conversion.

Enters the Capuchin Order.

[1] Many of the details given in Rinuccini's biography are evidently more romantic than correct. The editor of the *Historical Records of the Family of Leslie* points out (vol. iii. pp. 433, 434), among other errors, that Father Archangel could not have been a son of Count Leslie, as the contemporary Counts of that name never lived in Scotland; and secondly, that his father was certainly not proprietor of Monymusk (which never belonged to the Leslies at all), but James Leslie of Peterstone.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Raess, *Die Convertiten seit der Reformation*, vol. xi. p. 134.

capacity of interpreter to the Spanish ambassador, who was at this time despatched to London to negotiate a marriage between the Infanta and the Prince of Wales. From London he hurried to Scotland, presented himself, unrecognised, in the guise of a traveller, at his mother's house, after an absence of more than twenty years; and after a short time succeeded in reconciling both her and other members of the family to the Church. Many other persons in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen were converted through his means;[1] and among the higher classes especially he laboured with much success. From a report sent by him to Propaganda in 1626, we learn that many Scotch Catholics were at this time in the habit of attending Protestant sermons, and that the missionaries, who found it a hard matter to support themselves, were afraid of reproving them for so doing, lest they should be refused admission into their houses. It was urgently necessary, therefore, that the Congregation should assign to some of these priests a stipend of two hundred florins.[2]

His arrival on the mission in Scotland.

Difficulties of the missioners.

[1] Rinuccini, *Il Capucinno Scozzese*, p. 112. "Nel spazio di otto mesi convertinne più di tre mila."

[2] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 38, 31 Martii 1626. "Ex relatione Fr. Archangeli Capuccini. 1°, Scotos Catholicos conciones hæreticorum passim audire, tribus, aut quatuor familiis, qui sacerdotes peculiares sustentant, exceptis. 2°, Eosdem catholicos necessaria missionariis non subministrare. 3°, Eosdem missionarios non audere per reprehensionem et adhortationem retrahere Catholicos

Journey of Father Archangel to Rome.

Father Archangel quitted Scotland, and repaired to Rome, in the year 1630. The reasons of his making this journey are given by himself in a letter written to Colonel Sempill at Valladolid in January of that year.[1] "For two reasons," he says, "I return to Italy; first, because the government of our missions has been changed.[2] . . . The second reason for my journey to Italy is to exculpate myself from some calumnies which have been imputed to me by the Congregation of Propaganda. To these calumnies I shall oppose all the Catholic ladies and gentlemen who, flying from the persecution, have arrived in these parts; for the many conversions which God has made by means of me afford no trace of those vile things which they impute to me. For God has used me as an instrument for the conversion of my stepfather, of my mother and brothers, and of all the family; for the conversion of Alexander Leslie of Afford, of his wife and sons; of John Gordon of Deuthdies, of his wife and sons; of

His own account of his labours in Scotland.

a prædictis concionibus, quia metuunt, ne ob illas etiam in eorum domibus recipiantur. 4°, Ob hanc causam necessarium esse, ut S. Congregatio aliquibus sacerdotibus stipendia 200 florenorum assignet."

[1] The extract which follows is translated from a Spanish version (preserved in the Scotch College at Valladolid) of the original letter. The Spanish translator has, as will be seen, played havoc among the Scottish names, many of which it is impossible to identify. —TRANSLATOR.

[2] The change of which Father Archangel complains appears to have been caused by the appointment of a Frenchman as superior of the Capuchin missions, and the consequent exclusion of missionaries of other nationalities from Scotland as well as other countries. See *Historical Records*, vol. iii. p. 421.—TRANSLATOR.

Mr Regower, aged eighty years, and of his sons; of the Baron of Aquhorties, Leslie, and of his wife, who made her first confession to Father Steven of the Company [of Jesus]; of the Baron of Pitcaple; of the Baron of Cluny, Gordon, whose father for this cause sought to kill me; of three entire families in the hills of Badenoch; of the laird of Brunthill, Hays; of the laird of Littlehill, Leith. In Angus I converted the eldest son of Viscount Oliphant, and one of his nephews, and two daughters-in-law of the Baroness of Monorgan, who died within eight days, having received all the sacraments. In the village of Fowlis I converted two whole families. In the southern parts of Scotland I converted the Viscountess Herries, and the Baroness of Lockerbie, and three gentlemen of the name of Maxwell. I converted to a good life the Baron of Lochinvar, who died in my arms, and this nearly cost me my life. In the west of Scotland I converted a daughter and two sons of the Earl of Abercorn, and some servants. In Edinburgh I converted Baron Ridhall Hamilton, and other gentlemen, and his wife, who, doubting the truth of the mass, heard a voice saying three times, 'Rise, rise, rise, go to mass.' I must omit innumerable other persons, both men and women, for there is not a corner in all the kingdom where I have not left the seed of faith. This is a summary of all the souls I converted in Scotland, and well known by all those acquainted with me. And now, who are those who calumniate me?"

The matter referred to in the above letter came before the Congregation of Propaganda on April 22, 1631, when Father Archangel, on the testimony of a number of Scotch Catholics, who bore witness not only to his exemplary life, but also to his zeal in confuting heretics, and his exceptional success in making converts, was declared fully acquitted of the charges brought against him.[1] Provided with extensive faculties from Pope Urban VIII.,[2] he made his way again to Scotland, where he continued his zealous and fruitful labours for several years. He died in 1637, attended at the last by a Jesuit priest, at whose hands he received all the consolations of religion. Thus closed a life distinguished, even

His return to Scotland, and death, 1637.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 51, 22 April 1631. "Referente R. D. Tornielli litteras P. Leonardi Parisiensis Capuccini, præfecti missionis Orientis et Angliæ, attestationesque ab eo missas pro justificatione P. Archangeli Capuccini, missionarii in Scotia, et simul alias attestationes diversorum Catholicorum Scotiæ, qui non solum testimonium perhibent luculentissimum de vita exemplari P. Archangeli, ac de illius diligentiis ac studiis in confutandis hæreticorum deliriis per libros publice editos, iisque convertendis, ita ut ipse solus plus apud ipsos profecerit, quam ceteri religiosi missionarii; sed magna instantia petunt, ut remittatur ad missionem. *Decret:* R. P. Vicario Generali pro arbitrio." Cf. *Bullar. Ordin. Capuccin.*, vol. vii. p. 331.

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 13, 16 Januar. 1634. Cardinal Antonio Barberini (of S. Onofrio, himself a Capuchin, and brother of Urban VIII.) asks the following faculties for the Scotch Capuchins: "1. Consecrandi calices et patenas. 2. Utendi habitu seculari, etiam in itinere. 3. Habendi famulum et equum. 4. Retinendi et utendi pecunia, ubi aliter fieri non poterit. *Decretum:* S. Congregatio censuit, si Sanctissimo placuerit, præter primam, reliquas facultates oratoribus concedendas esse in Scotia, ubi est prohibitum exercitium Catholicæ religionis tam publicum quam secretum."

in those troublous times, by trials of no ordinary kind. The zeal for souls which burned in the heart of the good missionary may sometimes have led him into indiscretion. For this his ardent nature, and the fervent gratitude for his own conversion which filled his soul, may partly account; and we cannot but admire the extraordinary gift which he possessed of exercising an almost unlimited influence over all with whom he came in contact. We know little of the other missionaries of his order who laboured with him in Scotland. Among them were another Father Archangel, of Pembroke, Fathers Richard and Anselm, and four more whose names have not been preserved.[1]

Father Silvanus, O.S.B.

Of the Benedictine missionaries in Scotland at this period, we have already made mention of Father Silvanus, who, after being relieved of his office of superior of the Scotch mission, seems to have resided for some considerable time in Germany. We find him early in 1627 petitioning for a declaration from Propaganda to the effect

[1] Rocco da Cesinale, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 418. *Bullar. Ordin. Capuccin.*, vol. vii. p. 332. "Referente Em^mo. D^no. Cardinali S. Honuphrii instantiam Fratrum Capuccinorum Richardi et Anselmi Anglorum ad missionem Scotiæ destinatorum, pro licentia transferendi se a Scotia in Angliam, ad procurandam suorum consanguineorum et affinium hæreticorum conversionem. . . . S. Cong^io. censuit oratorum petitionem esse annuendam, die 30 Januarii 1634." Father Leander, O.S.B., in a report to the Holy See in 1634, mentions "four Scotch Capuchins" on the mission in that year. (Flanagan, *Hist. of the Church in England*, vol. ii. p. 323.)

that the clause in his faculties, *de consensu Ordinarii*, was to be understood of the Paris nuncio, and not of the vicar-apostolic of England and Scotland: a request which the Congregation appears to have granted.[1] An application made by the same father, in the following year, for a Papal visitation of the abbeys of Ratisbon, Würzburg, and Erfurt (in all of which monastic discipline had become greatly relaxed), was followed by a rescript addressed to the nuncios at Vienna and Cologne, directing them to appoint a visitor from the reformed Congregation of Lorraine. In May of the same year (1628), orders were sent from Propaganda to Father Silvanus, then living at the Scotch monastery at Würzburg, to proceed to Scotland; but whether he actually went to the mission or not does not appear.[2]

St Vincent of Paul and the Scotch mission.

The records of Propaganda give some account of negotiations between the Congregation and St Vincent of Paul with reference to the proposed despatch of missionaries to Scotland. The founder of the Lazarists pointed out the difficulty there would be in finding among the French secular clergy the requisite acquaintance with both the English and Gaelic languages.[3] He expressed himself willing, nevertheless, to place the services

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 189, 22 Febr. 1627.

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 76, 8 Maii 1628.

[3] *Ibid.*, Scritture riferite, p. 31 (1651). "Il Padre Vincenzo de Paulis, fondatore della religione delle missioni, richiesto dal Cardinale de Bagni per Nostro Signore cercare in Francia qualche

of the members of his newly-formed society at the disposal of the Congregation, who accepted his offer, declaring that the knowledge of one language was sufficient. St Vincent accordingly despatched two Irish priests to the Hebrides, and a Scotch one to the mainland. One of the former, Father Duggan, reported to the superior the result of his labours in the Western Isles, in letters dated October 1652 and April 1654.[1] He had, notwithstanding many difficulties, visited most of the islands, where he had administered baptism, put a stop to irregular connections, and imparted instruction in Christian doctrine. He had reconciled to the Church the father of Glengarry, over ninety years of age, and a born Protestant;[2] and had found the people everywhere willing to listen to him. Father Lumsden, another Lazarist missionary, also sent reports of his missionary labours to St Vincent in the years 1654 and 1657. He had visited the Orkney Isles,

Lazarist missionaries in Scotland.

prete secolare atto a ministrare le missioni di Scotia, stima ciò negotio difficile per la difficoltà di trovare che sappia quelle due lingue."

[1] Abelly, *Vie de St Vincent de Paul*, vol. i. pp. 406, 408. "Les îles que j'ai frequentées sont Vista [Uist] Canna, Egga et Skia, et dans le continent le pays de Moordit [Moidart], d'Arasog [Arisaig], de Moro [Morar], de Condirt [Knoydart] et de Cleangary [Glengarry]."

[2] This was Donald Macdonell, the eighth chief of Glengarry. He died in 1645, aged upwards of a hundred, having some years previously, on account of his advanced years, resigned the actual command of the clan in favour successively of his two sons and his grandson Æneas (created Lord Macdonell in 1660). See M'Kenzie, *History of the Macdonalds*, p. 328 *et seq.*—Translator.

and, on the mainland, the counties of Moray, Ross, and Caithness—"where," he adds, "no priest has been for several years, and there are but few Catholics." It was on the mainland especially that the missionaries found themselves liable to collision with the preachers, who were jealous of the success of their labours, and had recently obtained a fresh persecuting mandate against them from the Protector Cromwell.[1] Father Francis White was another Lazarist who for many years faced with ardour and success the perils and labours of the Highland mission. In a report to Propaganda, dated December 10, 1668, Winster, the Prefect of the mission, mentioned this devoted priest in terms of the highest commendation.[2] The religious condition of the

Jealousy of the preachers.

Father Francis White.

[1] Abelly, *Vie de St Vincent de Paul*, vol. i. p. 411. "L'ennemy de notre salut ayant suscité une nouvelle persécution contre les catholiques par l'instigation des ministres, qui ont obtenu un mandement du protecteur Cromwell adressant à tous les juges et magistrats d'Ecosse; . . . et particulièrement contre tous les prêtres, qu'il leur ordonne de faire mettre en prison."

[2] Archiv. Propag. Scotia, Scritture riferite I. "Relatio Winsteri, No. 70. D. Franciscus Le Blanc [White] Hibernus, quadraginta et quinque circiter annos natus. Parisiis in Congregatione Missionis apud S. Lazarum philosophiæ et theologiæ operam navavit, ac presbyter ordinatus est. In superiori Scotia per quindecim annos se missionarium probavit tum laboris et miseriarum patientissimum, tum salutis animarum cupidissimum, cui multum debet Scotia superior." It is of this Father White that the well-known and touching story is related, that when travelling with a brother missionary in the wilds of Glengarry, he was called in by two young men to see their aged father, who was apparently at the point of death, but refused to make any disposition of his property, declaring his conviction that his hour was not yet come. Ques-

Hebrides was brought prominently before the Congregation in the course of the following year. In an interesting report, of a portion of which we append a translation, Cardinal Rospigliosi represented that the inhabitants of those islands were in no sense Protestants, and only erred in religious matters from want of instruction. They kept the feasts of the Church, received with joy the Catholic clergy, whom they called "tonsured ones," and had retained many Catholic customs.[1]

Propaganda and the Hebrides.

tioned by the missionaries (of whose real character he and his sons were as yet entirely ignorant) as to his grounds for this belief, he replied that he was a Catholic, that for years he had prayed that he might not die without the sacraments, and that he was certain his prayer would be granted. His faith had its reward: Father White and his companion at once revealed themselves, and administered all the last consolations of religion to the dying man, who speedily arranged his worldly affairs, and expired in peace. Father White himself died in 1679. His portrait hung in Invergarry Castle, in a chamber known as "Mr White's Room," until the castle was burned down in 1745.—TRANSLATOR.

[1] Arch. Propag. Acta, 1669, fol. 462. "Relationes E^mmi. D^ni. Card. Rospigliosi. The natives of the islands adjacent to Scotland can, as a general rule, be properly called neither Catholics nor heretics. They abhor heresy by nature, but they listen to the preachers by necessity. They go wrong in matters of faith through ignorance, caused by the want of priests to instruct them in their religion. If a Catholic priest comes to their island, they call him by the name of the *tonsured one*, and show much greater veneration and affection for him than for the preachers. They sign their foreheads with the sign of the holy cross. They invoke the saints, recite litanies, and use holy water. They themselves baptise their own children when the ministers make any difficulty as to administrating that sacrament, on the pretence that it is not essential for eternal salvation." *Rescriptum:* The Most Holy Father directs the appointment, as superior of that mission, of the present Archbishop of Armagh, who is to send labourers to these islands, and is hereby instructed to apply to the Holy Office for the extension of his faculties.

If the preachers delayed to baptise their children, on the ground that the rite was non-essential, they administered the sacrament themselves. The Congregation, understanding that the Irish missionary priests were well able to make themselves understood by the people of the Hebrides, proceeded to intrust the mission in these islands to Dr Oliver Plunkett, the saintly archbishop of Armagh, who in 1681 sealed his faith with his blood on Tower Hill. The archbishop personally visited the Hebrides, and, in September 1671, submitted to Propaganda a detailed report of their religious condition.[1]

The Hebridean mission placed under the Archbishop of Armagh.

Cromwell and the Kirk.

The iron hand of Oliver Cromwell made itself felt by Protestants as well as Catholics in Scotland. The General Assembly which met at Edinburgh in July 1653 was just about to commence business when an English officer, Colonel Cotterel, entered the room, and demanded whether the Assembly sat by authority of Parliament, of the Commander-in-Chief, or of the English judges. Hardly giving the Moderator time to reply, Cotterel commanded the instant dissolution of the meeting. The members were led out of the city by an escort of soldiers, when Cotterel again addressed them, charging the Assembly with

Forcible dissolution of the General Assembly, July 1653.

[1] Moran, *Life of Dr Plunkett*, p. 176. Archiv. Propag., Scritture riferite, vol. i. "Relatione dell' Isole Ebridi mandata da Mgr. Armacano, Primate d'Ibernia, li 2 Settembre 1571, colle riflessioni fatte sopra del procuratore della missione di Scotia."

being the cause of all the troubles and dissensions in the country, and strictly forbidding it ever to meet again, under the severest penalties. Scotland was thus left, as has been justly observed, "without a kirk or a king, an army or a navy, a Parliament or a court of justice"[1] of its own—a state of things for which the preachers and their fanatical adherents during the past hundred years were in great measure responsible. The moral and religious condition of the country was in truth, if we are to trust contemporary writers, at this time truly deplorable. According to Lamont's Diary,[2] the preachers only plunged the people into the extreme of vice, impurity, and degradation. "As for every sort of uncleanness and filthiness," writes Nichol about the same time, "they did never more abound in Scotland than at this period. Under heaven there was not greater falsehood, oppression, division, hatred, pride, malice, and envy than was at this time, and divers and sundry years before. So that, instead of one religion, Scotland at this time had many. Besides Protestants and Papists, we have now Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Covenanters, Independents, Cross-Covenanters, Anti-Covenanters, Puritans, Barbarteries, Roundheads, Old-Horns, New-Horns, Cross-petitioners, Brownists,

Moral and religious state of Scotland.

[1] Walsh, *Hist. of Cath. Church in Scotland*, p. 461.

[2] *Diary of Mr John Lamont of Newton*, 1649-1671 (Edinburgh, 1830), *passim*.

Separatists, Malignants, Sectaries, Royalists, Quakers, and Anabaptists." Such was the compensation offered to the people of Scotland, after a hundred years of dominant Protestantism, in exchange for the one religion of their fathers.

CHAPTER II.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SCOTLAND UNDER CHARLES II., JAMES II., AND WILLIAM AND MARY (1660-1702).

Restoration of Charles II.

CHARLES II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors in the month of May 1660. Born on May 29, 1630, the young prince had been, as early as March 1645, appointed commandant of the royal forces in the west of England, with instructions, however, from his father to quit the kingdom should his personal safety be endangered at the hands of Fairfax and the Parliamentary troops. After the fatal day of Naseby, Charles I. withdrew to the Scilly Isles, which had remained staunch to the defeated monarch; and in September 1646 he crossed over to Jersey. When, in July 1648, the greater part of the English fleet revolted in favour of the royal cause, the prince repaired to the Hague, assumed command of the squadron, and sailed forthwith for the English coast. But he failed in his attempt to come to close quarters with the hostile fleet under the

Earl of Warwick, and was compelled, for want of provisions, to return to the coast of Holland. Six months later, the ill-fated monarch perished on the scaffold at Whitehall. On the eve of the execution, ambassadors had arrived from the Hague to intercede in his favour. They brought letters from the prince, undertaking to subscribe to any conditions as the price of his father's life. The offer was made in vain; but Charles had at least the consolation of knowing, in his last moments, that his son had not forgotten him.[1]

On the death of the king, and the fall of the English monarchy, Charles II. thought it his wisest policy to throw himself into the arms of the people of Scotland. He consented to all the conditions exacted of him, promised to sign the Solemn League and Covenant immediately on his arrival in the country, and was crowned at Scone on January 1, 1651. Advancing southwards with his army, he encountered the English forces at Worcester on September 3d. Charles was utterly routed, and with difficulty made his escape to Paris, where the queen-mother, Henrietta Maria, and his brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, were then living. The relations, however, at this time existing between Cardinal Mazarin, the leading statesman of France, and Cromwell, made that country an insecure shelter for the exiled prince; and he fixed his residence in turn at Cologne,

[1] Lingard, *Hist. of England*, vol. x. pp. 421, 455.

Brussels, and Breda. It was in the last city that he received the invitation of the Parliament of 1660 to return to England. On his birthday, May 29, he made his triumphant entry into London, amid the acclamations of the populace, and peacefully resumed possession of the throne of his fathers.[1]

Character of Charles.

The character of the new monarch was unfortunately at once frivolous and inconstant. Already notorious on the Continent for his irregular life, he soon infected the English court with his licentious and dissipated tastes, which were but little held in check by his marriage, in 1662, to the Infanta Catherine of Portugal. The alliance in question was, it would seem, entered into without the usual dispensation having been obtained, as required in the case of a Catholic marrying a Protestant; and a document is preserved in the Vatican archives, in which the question is discussed as to whether, and what, canonical penalties the queen had consequently incurred.[2] Ac-

His marriage to Catherine of Braganza.

[1] Lingard, *Hist. of England*, vol. xii. p. 1.

[2] *Cod. Ottob.* 2462, fol. 392. The following is a translation of this curious document (the Latin text will be found in Appendix III.): "Ought the Queen of England to be required to ask for the remission of the canonical penalties incurred on account of her marriage contracted with a heretical king without Pontifical dispensation, and also for permission to continue in matrimonial relations with her royal consort?

It appears that she ought not to be so required, because (1) she contracted the said marriage in perfectly good faith, persuaded by learned men that she might lawfully do so, according to the common opinion of many doctors—provided, that is, there be no danger of

cording to a contemporary letter of a Jesuit named George Gray, Charles endeavoured, soon after the arrival of Catherine at Portsmouth, to

perversion, and in places where heresy flourishes with impunity, and the custom of seeking Papal dispensation does not exist.

"(2) Even had she sinned in contracting the marriage (a belief which should not be too readily entertained), yet this sin is nowhere reserved to the Pope. . . .

"(4) There are no spiritual penalties, either of excommunication or anything similar, of which it is laid down in the Canon Law that she herself is bound to ask for remission, even supposing her to have committed sin.

"(5) Such an obligation would afflict beyond measure her most Serene Majesty, who, being most pious, of very tender conscience, and full of zeal for the Catholic faith, would be caused thereby inconsolable grief; and as she is commonly reported to be with child, some untoward event might hence be greatly to be feared.

"(6) It would likewise most seriously offend his most Serene Majesty her consort, on whose countenance and protection depends the preservation, spread, and increase of the Catholic religion in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and it is much to be dreaded that, if thus offended, he would withdraw his protection, and permit the Parliament (which was to meet again in February) to do what it was only prevented by his intervention from doing last year—namely, to decree the execution of the penal laws formerly passed against Catholics; whence would follow innumerable confiscations of property and proscriptions of priests, with the imprisonment and death of some: in a word, the most grievous calamities, if not the extermination of the Catholic religion in these kingdoms.

"(7) The piety and constancy of the English, Scottish, and Irish Catholics, in defending for a hundred years and more the authority of the Apostolic See, for which they have endured so much imprisonment, torture, death, plunder of their goods, and innumerable other evils, seem to deserve that the same Holy See, the loving mother of all the faithful, but especially of those fighting in her cause, should not now add this affliction to the Catholics, of whom so many have for years past suffered so much for the faith, by thus exposing them to the anger of the king, the fury of the Parliament, and to countless perils and great loss of souls."

It is evident from the above document that the dispensation from the Holy See was not asked for on the princess's behalf. Whether

induce her to consent to the celebration of the marriage according to the Protestant as well as the Catholic form. The princess, however, resolutely resisted this proposal, threatening to return to Portugal sooner than agree to the ceremony being performed by a Protestant minister; and the king found himself obliged to give way.[1]

Catholic leanings of Charles II.

Although the king had, of course, been brought up by his father in accordance with the Protestant tenets, he was nevertheless nearer to Catholicism than is commonly supposed. When living in early youth with his mother in Paris, his mind had received many ineffaceable Catholic impressions. Henrietta Maria was often in the habit of visiting the Carmelite nuns in that city, accompanied by her sons, Charles and James, for whose

Pope Alexander VII., in view of the results which had followed the union of Henrietta Maria with the ill-fated father of Charles II., would have been inclined to grant the favour, may perhaps be questioned. As a matter of fact, the sister of the Portuguese monarch did, although doubtless in good faith, become the wife of the King of England without any such dispensation.

[1] According to Father Gray's letter (printed by Foley, *Records of the English Province, S.J.*, series ix. p. 278), what the "invincible heroine," as he styles the queen, refused to do, was to forego the Catholic ceremony altogether. She did not, as the author appears to imply, decline to go through the Protestant form subsequently, although Burnet declares that she was "bigoted to such a degree that she would not say the words of matrimony."—(*Hist. of his Own Time*, ed. 1724, vol. i. p. 174.) Gray distinctly states that she consented to the marriage being "ratified by the Protestant Bishop" [of London], who, the Earl of Sandwich (an eyewitness) adds, "made the declaration of marriage in the Common Prayer." The Catholic rite had already been privately solemnised by D'Aubigny. —Translator.

conversion to the true faith she besought the prayers of the sisters.[1] In the Declaration of Breda, made before his restoration to the throne, Charles had promised to guarantee liberty of conscience to all his subjects; and there is no reason to doubt his sincerity either in giving this pledge, or in the attempt (albeit it proved unsuccessful) which he made two years later to redeem it. During his residence in Paris he had, moreover, had frequent conferences on religious topics with M. Olier, the saintly and learned founder of S. Sulpice; and these, if they had not actually won him over to the Catholic faith, had at least disposed him favourably towards its adherents.[2]

His intercourse with M. Olier.

[1] Foley, *Records*, series xii. p. 5. The prioress at this time was the holy Mother Margaret Mostyn, to whose prayers James II. believed he owed his conversion to the Catholic faith.—Translator.

[2] M. Faillon, in his *Vie de M. Olier* (1873, vol. ii. p. 324 *seq.*), cites Burnet, who, in his *History of his Own Time*, asserts positively that Charles abjured Protestantism before leaving France. M. Rapin, himself a contemporary of the king, makes the same statement in his *Hist. of England* (ed. 1731, vol. xiii. p. 222), adding, "At this time of day it is a thing of which the world has no room to doubt." The editor of some interesting documents bearing on this question, published in the *Études réligieuses historiques et littéraires*, tom. v., refers, in support of the opposite view, to the king's expressed wish in 1668 (mentioned in the text) to be reconciled to the Catholic Church. But as M. Faillon points out (*op. cit.*, p. 347), there is nothing in this inconsistent with his having made his abjuration ten years before; for his public profession of Anglicanism since his accession (to say nothing of his scandalous mode of life) would certainly have made such a reconciliation in any case necessary. For further information on this point see Carte, *Life of Ormonde* (cited in Harris, *Life of Charles II.*, vol. ii. p. 61, note); *Somers Tracts*, vol. viii. p. 225; *Secret History of the Reigns of Charles II. and James II.*, pp. 11, 18.—Translator.

Even at that time it was widely rumoured in the highest French society that Charles had already made his submission to the Holy See; and in any case there can be no doubt of the effect wrought on his impressionable nature by the conversion of his brother James, Duke of York, a few years afterwards. Charles, indeed, immediately on that event, declared his own anxiety to follow his brother's example; but he decided on taking counsel with Louis XIV. of France as to the expediency of at once openly professing himself a Catholic. The French monarch advised extreme caution, pointing out that the effect of such a step might probably be the loss of his crown; and Charles appears to have been only too easily persuaded to keep his religious convictions in the background.

The historian Lingard, in his relation of these incidents, throws great doubt on the good faith of Charles, whose real object, he adds, was probably to deceive both his brother and the King of France.[1] Documents which have since come to light, however, show that he was at least sincere in the extremely favourable sentiments which he professed to entertain towards the Catholic Church and its adherents. In 1662, the same year in which he publicly declared his desire for freedom of conscience among his subjects, Charles despatched Sir Richard Bellings to Rome, charged

Mission from King Charles to Pope Alexander VII.

[1] Lingard, *History of England*, vol. xii. p. 204.

with the mission of obtaining, if possible, from Alexander VII. a cardinal's hat for his kinsman, Louis Stuart of Aubigny, Duke of Richmond and Lennox in the peerage of Scotland.[1] Stuart, who was descended from the powerful favourite of James VI., had embraced the ecclesiastical state in Paris, and had for a time been mixed up with the Jansenist party there. An intimacy, however, which he formed with the community of S. Sulpice happily brought him to more orthodox views; and Charles, who had contracted a close friendship with him during his residence in Paris, procured for him on his marriage the appointment of almoner to the queen. The petition of the king to the Holy See was supported by the queen-mother and by his own consort, both of whom addressed letters on the subject to Cardinals Barberini and Orsini;[2] and Bellings was charged to assure his Holiness, in the king's name, that the elevation of Stuart to the purple would be fraught with the happiest consequences

[1] Charles had already, before quitting France, exerted himself unsuccessfully to obtain Stuart's elevation to the cardinalate. The *Mémoires de M. du Ferrier* (pp. 316, 317) give some interesting details of the negotiations of the prince, and in particular of his correspondence with his kinsman on the subject. The latter alleged the impossibility of his supporting the proposed dignity on his slender income; and when Charles assured him that the revenues of the English crown should be at his disposal for the purpose, Stuart declared that he would rather die than owe his maintenance to the benefactions of a heretical king.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Boero, *Conversione alla Fede Cattolica di Carlo II. d'Inghilterra, &c.* (1874), pp. 123, 124.

for the welfare of all his Roman Catholic subjects. The matter was remitted by the Pope to the consideration of a commission of cardinals, with the result that the royal request was refused; for the Abbé Stuart did not enjoy at this time the full confidence of the Holy See, nor was he believed to have entirely shaken off his former leanings towards Jansenism.[1]

Favour shown by Charles to the Catholics.

The chief interest attaching to these proceedings lies in the report submitted by one of the consultors of the commission of which we have spoken, relating to "the favours and benefits bestowed upon the English Catholics by the reigning monarch."[2] These were said to be as follows: 1. He had relieved a large number of Catholics from the sentence of confiscation of property pronounced on them under Cromwell. 2. He had suspended the execution of a portion of the penal laws—so much, namely, as punished

[1] Boero, p. 131. "Primieramente il sospetto, non leggiero e mal fondato, che il signor di Aubigny non sentisse totalmente con la chiesa cattolica . . . e si citevano varie sue lettere scritte ad Arnaldo, con cui aveva stretta domestichezza." The reluctance of the Pope to offend Philip of Spain, who strongly opposed the promotion to the purple of the nominee of a Portuguese princess, had probably quite as much to do with the refusal of the king's petition as had Stuart's Jansenistic proclivities. This is the more likely, as we find after Philip's death the offer of the hat was actually made. The Abbé, however, died (Nov. 11, 1665) a few hours after the arrival of the Papal ablegate with the biretta. (Moréri, *art.* Stuart, tom. ix. p. 597 *et seq.*)—Translator.

[2] According to the writer in the *Études* (tom. v. p. 202), the articles which follow were drawn up by Charles himself for the information of the Pope.

non-attendance at Protestant worship, in the case of rich Catholics, by the loss of two-thirds of their estate, and in the case of poor, by a fine of a shilling for every instance of recusancy. 3. He had set at liberty priests and religious who were in prison or under sentence of death for exercising their ministry. 4. He had abolished the pursuivants, the officials charged with the duty of searching out priests in the houses of Catholics, and had thus put an end to an intolerable oppression—inasmuch as a Catholic in whose house a priest was found was liable to confiscation of property and banishment for life. 5. Notwithstanding other and much more advantageous proposals, he had married a Catholic princess.[1] 6. He had permitted the erection of two public chapels in London for the queen-mother and his own consort: in the queen's chapel the choral office was solemnly celebrated by the Benedictines,[2] while in that of the queen-mother the

[1] "Against the royal and princely families in the north of Europe," says Lingard (*Hist. of England*, vol. xii. p. 83), "he had, from some cause or other, contracted an invincible antipathy"—which is equivalent to stating, as Burnet in effect does, that he was resolved that his queen should be a Catholic.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Weldon (*Chronological Notes*, English Benedictine Congregation, p. 196), in his account of the proceedings of the General Chapter of that body in 1661, says, "King Charles II. ordered the Fathers to nominate to him so many of their body, whom he was resolved to maintain at London at the chapel of his queen. In this affair R. F. Paul Robinson was very active and wonderfully acceptable to his Majesty." Father Robinson had held the office of President of the Congregation during the preceding four years.—TRANSLATOR.

functions were carried out by Capuchins. All this was the cause of great consolation to the Catholics, who had free access to the divine service in the royal chapels. 7. He had, immediately on ascending the throne, caused liberal alms to be bestowed on the English nuns living in Flanders, especially those domiciled at Ghent; and even during his exile in Holland he had sent to the latter sixteen hundred scudi, in earnest of his goodwill towards them. 8. He had given the Ghent nuns permission to build a convent at Dunkirk,[1] and to this he himself contributed twelve thousand scudi. 9. He had repeatedly received in audience priests and religious, in particular two provincials of the Jesuits, and had assured them of his protection. 10. He had visited the queen's chapel, attended by his court, had assisted at part of the high mass, and knelt profoundly at the elevation. 11. He had given the Catholic lords a seat and voice in the Upper House of Parliament, a concession unheard-of since the reign of Elizabeth. 12. The oath of allegiance prescribed to Catholics on

[1] The Benedictine convent at Ghent, from which that of Dunkirk was founded in 1662, was itself an offshoot from the venerable house at Brussels, the first established (under Lady Mary Percy, in 1599) on the Continent after the Reformation. The town of Dunkirk was sold by Charles to the French king the year after the foundation of the new convent, but the nuns continued in possession until expelled in 1793. They then found a refuge in England, and are now established at St Scholastica's Abbey at Teignmouth, in South Devon.—Translator.

entering or leaving the kingdom had been abolished. 13. Thirty thousand Catholics belonging to the London train-bands, who had declared themselves unable to take the oath according to the customary form, had been permitted to subscribe to a new formula, in which the name of the Pope was not mentioned. 14. Several Catholics had been appointed to positions of trust. 15. The endeavours of Parliament at the beginning of the current year to provide for the enforcing of the penal laws had been opposed by the king. 16. He had deprived the Exchequer of a considerable sum, by not permitting it to appropriate the forfeited two-thirds of the estates of Catholics. 17. With regard to the accusation that the king had prescribed to Catholics a form of oath prejudicial to their loyalty to the Pope, it was to be observed that the real responsibility for the formula in question rested with one Peter Walsh, a Franciscan friar, who drew it up, and had it printed and subscribed to by a number of his religious brethren; whilst a Dominican bishop and others had presented it to the king with the assurance that Catholics might lawfully take it.[1]

[1] The above articles of the royal memorandum to the Holy See are given by Boero (*op. cit.*, pp. 128-131), with the exception of the concluding passage, relating to Friar Walsh and the Dominican Bishop. The following is the text of the passage in question in the Vatican MS. (Cod. Ottob., 2462, fol. 494): "Ma si risponde, che di questo la colpa principale ha un certo P. Fra Pietro Walshe dell'

Negotiations of Charles for reunion with the Holy See.

In order to remove from the mind of the Pope any remaining doubt as to the orthodoxy of his views, Charles caused to be presented to the Holy See, at the same time as the above document, another with reference to what he describes as the "greatly longed-for union of his three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland with the Apostolic Roman See." The king professes himself ready to accept all the decrees of General Councils, including that of Trent, and the decisions of recent Pontiffs regarding the Jansenistic errors; and he also expresses his detestation of the "deplorable schism and heresy introduced by Luther, Zwingle, Calvin, and other wicked men," and the "Babylonish confusion" brought about by the pretended Reformation. So far the royal declaration is orthodox enough; but there is a suspicious note about the succeeding passage, in which Charles reserves the right of objecting to any future amplification of the Creed of Pius IV.[1] The king had, in truth, but an imperfect

Ordine di S. Francesco, il quale ha composta, e stampata la sudetta formola, e sottoscritta da molti altri frati della sua religione, et un Vescovo Dominicano et altri l'hanno presentata al Re, persuadendogli che sia lecito ai Cattolici il pigliarlo." Regarding Walsh, see Moran, *Spicileg. Ossoriense;* also an article by the author in the *Literar. Rundschau*, 1879, pp. 140-142.

[1] Boero, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-135. "Oblatio ex parte Caroli II, Magnæ Britanniæ Regis, pro optatissima trium suorum regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ cum Sede Apostolica Romana reunione. Majestas Regia, omnesque qui cum ipsa ad unitatem Ecclesiæ Catholicæ aspirant, fidei professionem a Pio IV. ex Concilio Tridentino excerptam, una cum omnibus aliis quæ tam in dicto Tridentino, quam

notion of what the Catholic religion really was, and was very far—at least at this time—from looking at religious questions from a really Catholic point of view. Notwithstanding the concessions promised in the above document, as well as in the four-and-twenty declarations appended to it, respecting the erection of seminaries and religious houses, the introduction of the Catholic liturgy, and the holding of provincial councils, Charles did not appear to have grasped the principle of authority which is of the very essence of Catholicism. Pope Alexander, in his reply to the king,

Reply of Alexander VII.

in omnibus aliis Generalibus Conciliis unquam circa res fidei et morum decreta, nec minus ea quæ a duobus postremis Pontificibus in causa Jansenii decisa sunt, acceptabunt; reservando sibi, sicut in Gallia et alibi alicubi, particularia Ecclesiæ suæ particularis in quibusdam usu ipso stabilita jura et consuetudines: ita intelligendo, ut in his terminis, quibus haud dubie prudenter et considerate in aliis Conciliis Œcumenicis ex præfata fidei professione continentur, ita ut nihil quisquam, quod his non comprehendatur, nec ipsi, nec ipsorum cuipiam ullo tempore imponi possit, vel amplius injungi; ac proinde vitio ipsi non vertendum, aut quasi hæresi faveret, interpretandum erit, si quando suam in subjectis punctis mentem ac sensum declaret. Atque adeo Regia Majestas ipso facto tam ab omnibus Protestantium, quam quorumcumque aliorum Romanæ Ecclesiæ non unitorum congregationibus, eorumdemque Ecclesiarum communione se separat, et præcipue schisma deplorandum et hæresim a Luthero, Zwinglio, Calvino, Memnone, Socino, Browino, et hujusmodi malis hominibus inductam detestatur; quippe præ aliis omnibus in regnis suis et provinciis experientia duce videt, atque intelligit, qualem quantamque prætensa hujusmodi Reformatio, quæ tamen jure merito deformatio potius appellanda est, calamitatem, rerum omnium perturbationem, ac Babylonicam confusionem in ecclesiasticis æque ac politicis post se traxerit, usque adeo ut tria hæc regna, et in primis Anglia communi orbi toti perturbatissime inquietudinis in sacris perinde ac profanis rebus theatrum effectum sit."

expressed with great clearness the reasons which rendered inadmissible any concessions on the part of the Holy See; and the negotiations in consequence led to no practical result. The fact, however, of the anxiety manifested by Charles in regard to Catholic teaching, as well of his reconciliation to the Church and reception of the last sacraments on his deathbed at the hands of the Benedictine Hudleston,[1] is abundantly proved by contemporary documents — among which we may mention letters written to Oliva, General of the Jesuits, and to his son James Stuart (*alias* de la Cloche, or Henry de Rohan), a Jesuit novice at Rome; and also two detailed declarations, subscribed by the king and afterwards published by his brother and successor, setting forth the untenableness of Protestantism and the truth of the Catholic religion.[2] It is only to be regretted that Charles, entangled as he was in the toils of his dissolute life, lacked the moral courage to give public expression to his real sentiments as to religious matters.

Ecclesiastical policy of Charles.

As far as externals were concerned, the king found no difficulty not only in accommodating himself to the forms of Anglican worship, but

[1] Father Hudleston's autograph account of the king's last hours is printed in Appendix IV., from a rare tract published in the reign of his successor.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Boero, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-201. With reference to James Stuart, the supposed natural son of Charles II., and the documents regarding him lately discovered in the National Library at Naples, see Reumont in the *Historischen Görres-Gesellschaft*, 1882, pp. 316-318.

also in imposing them on his Northern subjects. The result of this policy, as regarded Scotland, was that the ecclesiastical party which, in the long struggle with the late king, had performed the part of the hammer, was now transformed into the anvil. An Act of Parliament passed in 1662 abolished the Presbyterian form of church government, the Covenant was burnt in the court of Holyrood Palace by the public executioner, and the Episcopalian system was restored —*minus*, however, the liturgy and the canons. James Sharp, minister of Crail, who had been deputed by the moderate party in the Kirk to represent their interests with the king on his return from the Continent, turned traitor to his party, consented to the restoration of prelacy, and, together with three other Presbyterian ministers, was consecrated according to the Anglican formula in Westminster Abbey.[1] Sharp was appointed to the archbishopric of St Andrews, and six months later he officiated at the consecration of six other prelates for the vacant Scottish sees.

Restoration of Episcopalianism in Scotland, 1662.

By far the greater majority of the Scottish

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iv. pp. 573, 574. Sharp was induced, although with considerable reluctance, to submit to be privately ordained deacon and priest previous to his consecration. With regard, however, to the six prelates whom he consecrated at Edinburgh (for the sees of Dunkeld, Moray, Ross, Caithness, Brechin, and the Isles), Burnet expressly states (*Hist. of his Own Time*, vol. i. p. 142) that they were ordained neither priest nor deacon. Like their predecessors in 1610 (see *ante*, vol. iii. p. 381), they proceeded to the episcopal dignity *per saltum!*—TRANSLATOR.

Feeling among the Scottish Protestants.

Protestants were entirely opposed to the reintroduction of the Episcopalian form of government, which only a species of terrorism could enable to maintain its ground in the country. An edict of the new Archbishop of Glasgow, calling on such of the clergy as had been inducted since 1649 to apply for fresh collation to their benefices at the hands of the bishops, was promptly followed by the resignation of no less than three hundred and fifty ministers—more than a third of the entire body. These dissentients carried with them the spirit of discontent into the remotest villages of the kingdom. The parish churches were deserted, and meetings for religious worship in private houses or in the open fields, under cover of night, became everywhere the common practice. Little tolerance, however, was shown by the Government for such proceedings. The ex-ministers were forbidden even to reside in their former parishes, while the parishioners were prohibited under the heaviest penalties from visiting any church but their own, where they were compelled to attend the ministrations of the new incumbents.[1] The royal troops were employed to

[1] Sir Walter Scott, writing in the *Quarterly Review* (vol. xviii. p. 525), cites from Kirkton some strange stories of the affronts and indignities offered to the "curates" (as they were called) who had replaced the former parish ministers. Every sort of obstacle was placed in the way of their ministrations: the church doors were barricaded, the clappers of the bells stolen, and the unfortunate incumbent was frequently saluted by his flock with volleys of stones. On one occasion a box full of ants was emptied into the curate's

exact with unrelenting severity the fines incurred by those who violated these injunctions—a severity which was increased rather than diminished by the erection, at the instance of Sharp, of a court of commission, in which the chief power was wielded by the State prelates. Driven to desperation, the Covenanters, headed by their preachers, broke out into open rebellion, which was mercilessly suppressed by the Government. A number of the insurgents were killed in the field, and some sixty more were executed in Edinburgh and various provincial towns. The prisons were thronged with the unfortunate Covenanters, many of whom were afterwards shipped off to the Barbadoes as slaves. An express Act of Parliament was passed in 1670 against conventicles, and, in particular, meetings for open-air worship. Those officiating at such gatherings were to be punished with death, while their hearers were liable to fines of crushing severity, amounting in some cases to as much as five thousand marks.[1]

Rising of the Covenanters.

The chief responsibility for these drastic measures, and the popular excitement which they occasioned, was attributed to Archbishop Sharp, who was in consequence singled out for general execration as the author of the persecution of the unfortunate Covenanters. A fanatic preacher

Unpopularity of Archbishop Sharp.

boots. According to Kirkton, "some profane people" thought that if they committed sin overnight, insulting a curate next morning was sufficient testimony of their repentance.—TRANSLATOR.

[1] *Acts of Parl. of Scotl.*, vol. viii. pp. 9, 10.

named Mitchell professed himself inspired from heaven to end the life of the tyrant; and in July 1668 he fired a pistol at the primate while seated in his coach in the streets of Edinburgh. The bullet missed its aim, lodging in the arm of the Bishop of Orkney, who sat beside the archbishop; and Sharp thus escaped with life, only, however, to fall a victim to his enemies some years afterwards. On May 3, 1679, he was waylaid by nine desperadoes in a lonely spot near St Andrews, dragged from his coach in spite of the prayers and cries of his daughter, and brutally murdered. The assassins, so far from flying from justice, calmly retired to a neighbouring cottage, where they devoted several hours to prayer and thanksgiving for the divine assistance which had enabled them to execute vengeance on the enemy of the saints.[1] The natural result of this atrocious crime was an immediate increase in the severities exercised by the Government against the dissentient ministers and their adherents. Graham of Claverhouse, afterwards Viscount Dundee, was commissioned to

Murder of Sharp, May 3, 1679.

[1] The tragical end of the primate must not lead us to suppose that he had any genuine claim to the title of saint and martyr, which has been freely bestowed upon him by a section of his biographers. Few men, in truth, were ever cast in less heroic mould, or possessed less of the stuff which goes to make martyrs. Much light is thrown on his real character by the "Unpublished Notices of James Sharp," printed in a recent number of the *Scottish Review* (July 1884). The verdict of the writer is a severe one, but few, we think, will dispute its justice.—Translator.

disperse the conventicles, and scatter the Covenanters, who had again taken the field in considerable numbers. At Bothwell, in June 1679, they were defeated and put to rout by the royal forces. Several of the ministers were executed, and a great number of the insurgents were thrown into prison or shipped off to the American plantations. Meanwhile the more fanatical of the Covenanters had united into a new sect, known as Cameronians, from their leader, a seditious preacher named Richard Cameron. Cameron, Cargill, and their followers taught open rebellion against the Government, and published a solemn sentence of excommunication against the king, the Duke of York, and the chief ministers of State. The new sect was proceeded against by the authorities with ruthless severity: the leaders were hanged, and many persons of both sexes were likewise punished with death or transportation.[1] It was not until the arrival in Scotland of the Duke of York, who had quitted England in consequence of the violent feeling that prevailed there in connection with his right of succession to the throne, that the harsh measures against the Cameronians were relaxed, and he succeeded in procuring some measure of toler-

The Cameronians.

[1] For some account of the extraordinary excesses of the Cameronians, see Law's *Memorials*, pp. 152-159; and the attempted apologies for them put forward by Wodrow, *Hist. of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* (ed. 1829), vol. iii. pp. 123-140, 202-232, 274-287.

ation for dissentients from the religion of the State.[1]

As to the Scottish Catholics, they would appear to have enjoyed little more indulgence under the restored episcopate than they had previously done at the hands of the Presbyterians. The fact of the students of the College of Edinburgh being permitted to publicly burn the Pope in effigy as an intentional outrage on the Catholic Duke of York, is a sufficient index to the kind of treatment which Catholics were likely to meet with at this time from their Protestant countrymen.[2]

Condition of the Scottish Catholics.

On October 30, 1661, James Chambers, commissioner for the Presbytery of Aberdeen, laid before the Privy Council the result of the diligent inquiry recently made by that body for "Papists and seminary priests" within the bounds of their jurisdiction. Many of the names on the list handed in by Chambers are the same as those which we have already met with in the reign of Charles I. in connection with similar charges.

Catholics denounced to the Privy Council.

[1] Fountainhall's *Decisions*, *passim*. Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, vol. ii. p. 404.

[2] This was on Christmas Day 1680, only two months after the arrival of James at Holyrood. The effigy of the Pope, we are told, was a rude statue of timber, with a painted face, a grey periwig, and a triple crown; in the hands a cross, a candle, and a piece of money. The students, having diverted the attention of the authorities by organising another procession from the Castle Hill, meanwhile proceeded themselves to march up High Street. They set down the figure (which was clothed in a calico gown, and seated in a chair) in the middle of the street, and set fire to it, causing the gunpowder inside the body to explode and blow it to pieces.—Translator.

Among them we find the Marchioness of Huntly and her children, Viscount Frendraught with his family, the lairds of Gicht, Craig, Balgownie, and Pitfodels, together with many others, including the lairds of Drum, Auchindoir, Monaltrie, Tullos, and Murefield, and likewise several priests. The Council is besought to take rigorous measures against these delinquents, who are charged with "the overthrow of religion, disturbance of Church and State, and the seducing of many poor souls." Shortly afterwards we find the Council dealing with John Inglis and William Brown, who had been apprehended and lodged in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh as "trafficking Papists." Inglis, who was also charged with circulating Popish books, resolutely refused to reveal the names of such priests as he knew to be within the realm, and declared, moreover, that he would not abandon his own religious profession. Both culprits were sentenced to be banished.[1] The case of Thomas Seaton, who, after a lifelong adherence to the Protestant forms, died in January 1665, a "Catholic Roman,"[2] is, as has been truly observed,[3] only one of the too numerous cases in which "intolerance produced one of its natural fruits, dissimulation."

Severe measures were taken in the month of

[1] *Privy Council Records*, Chambers, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 284.
[2] Lamont's *Diary*, p. 176 ; Jan. 9, 1665.
[3] Chambers, p. 301.

August 1671, against several Catholic families in the north of Scotland, including the Gordons of Carmellie and Littlemill, and the Grants of Ballindalloch, all of whom were charged with harbouring priests and attending at mass. In February of the following year the Council had before it the case of the Countess of Traquhair, who, it was stated, "being Popishly affected, doth keep in family with her her son, the Earl of Traquhair, and endeavours to educate him in the Popish profession, and for that effect doth keep Irving, a priest, to instruct him therein." Messengers-at-arms were ordered to apprehend the Countess, or, if that were not feasible, to summon her at the Cross in Edinburgh, to appear with her son before the Council, that they might provide for his "education and breeding, conform to Act of Parliament." Lady Traquhair appeared accordingly eight days later, and received orders from the Council "to send her son to Glasgow, and cause deliver him to Mr Gilbert Burnet, Professor of Divinity, to be educated and bred at the College of Glasgow, in the company of the said Mr Gilbert, at the sight and by the advice of the Archbishop of Glasgow." It was further expressly ordered that the young earl was to have none but Protestant attendants. Wauchope, younger of Niddry, and Lord Semple were on the same day commanded to produce their children, "in order to their education with some Protestant

Proceedings against Catholics in the north.

The Countess of Traquhair.

Wauchope of Niddry and Lord Semple.

friend." Lord Semple was moreover summoned to answer for having sent his eldest son abroad against the orders of the Council; while Wauchope was directed to give up his eldest son to the custody of his father, the parents being forbidden to communicate with their child except in presence of his Protestant tutor. We find Lord Semple a little later imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle for the offence above mentioned, and only liberated on giving bail to the amount of ten thousand marks, and engaging to have his third son educated at Glasgow. The training of the youth does not appear to have been a success; for six years later Lady Semple (her husband being dead) complained to the Council that her son, "through the general humour and corruption of the place, has been so seduced and poisoned with bad principles anent his Majesty's government and laws, as may not only hazard his small fortune, but render his loyalty altogether suspect."

Education of Catholic children by Protestants.

It is worthy of remark, that during the period of which we are now treating, while many of the provisions of the penal statutes were allowed to remain inactive, the odious practice of separating children from their parents for religious reasons continued, as in the instances just quoted, to be rigorously enforced. Winster, the prefect of the Scottish mission, in his report to Propaganda, dated December 19, 1668, cites as a notable example the case of the young Marquis of Huntly,

who had been educated under the immediate supervision of the Archbishop of Glasgow. Huntly had in spite of this remained firm in the Catholic faith; but on the other hand, the Marquis of Douglas, and the Earls of Errol, Winton, Sutherland, and Caithness had not only themselves abandoned their religion, but had involved many others in their fall.[1]

Catholics in Aberdeenshire.

Aberdeen and the surrounding district appear to have been distinguished at this time as a special stronghold of the adherents to the old faith, and we find the sheriffs both of Aberdeenshire and

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scotia, Scritture riferite, 1668. Ex relatione Alexandri Vinsteri. "The second obstacle is the unjust and tyrannical law by which the children of Catholics (especially of nobles), are torn from their parents in early youth, are handed over to heretical teachers to be instructed in heresy and hatred of the Catholic religion, and are brought up in heretical schools or academies. And the special feature of this law, as distinct from others, is that it is directed not so much against adults as against innocent children, nor is it, like some others, temporarily suspended, but is continually being put in execution; as was lately experienced by a youth of the highest nobility, the Marquis of Huntly, who was given a heretical teacher, and not only compelled to attend a heretical academy, but (in order that he might imbibe heresy the more easily), was forced to take his meals daily at the table of the pseudo-archbishop, a man cunning and apt to deceive; until after a year of captivity, he came forth, by the divine assistance, with his faith unimpaired. The same process (but unhappily with a very different result), was gone through some years ago in the case of the noble young Marquis of Douglas and the Earls of Errol, Winton, Sutherland, Caithness, and several others, who, having been infected with heresy from their tender years, persevered in it together with their families, and by their example gave a handle for perversion to their friends, relations, vassals, and dependants; for the defection of a single powerful noble always brings with it the fall of very many besides himself."

Banff frequently urged to do their utmost to put down Popery within the limits of their jurisdiction. All who either said or heard mass were to be summoned for their crimes, excommunicated, escheated, and their goods handed over to the universities; and every effort was to be used for the "suppressing and rooting out of Popery and Quakerism." In August 1670, Francis Irving, brother to the laird of Drum, and a convert to Catholicism, was before the Council on the usual charges—namely, harbouring priests and hearing mass. It was even said that under his protection a priest had been bold enough to hold a public disputation in defence of his religion—a thing unknown since the days of Quintin Kennedy and John Knox.[1]

Irving of Drum.

Missionaries in Scotland at the Restoration.

At the time of the Restoration there was a considerable number of zealous and devoted clergy labouring on the mission in Scotland. Of them the majority appear to have been members of religious orders—a circumstance easily explained when we remember the advantages which these bodies enjoyed in virtue of their corporate organisation, and also the fact that many of the regular

[1] This is hardly correct. Nicol Burne had at a much later date been deprived of his professorship, and banished in consequence of his public defence of the Catholic doctrines against the ministers (see *ante*, vol. iii. p. 335); and we know from contemporary evidence (*ibid.*, p. 338, note) that Father Gordon had frequently and publicly disputed with the preachers in the actual presence of James VI. and his court.—TRANSLATOR.

missionaries were not natives of the country. We must not, however, omit to record the name of the excellent prefect of the mission, Alexander Winster (or Dunbar). A native of Morayshire, he entered the Scotch College at Rome in 1651, was ordained priest six years later, and after studying for another year at Paris, entered on the Scottish mission in 1658. On the death of Ballantyne, the names of three candidates were proposed for the vacant office of prefect. In the information received by the Cardinals of Propaganda, Winster was represented as being especially careful in sending to Rome reports as to the progress of the missions; and on this ground, as well as on account of his having been already unanimously chosen vice-prefect, he was appointed successor to Ballantyne in June 1662.[1] In 1668 he came to Paris on affairs connected with the mission, and did not return to Scotland until four years later. After the accession of James II., Winster appears to have spent some time at the Court of that monarch, by whom he was held in the highest esteem.[2] On the outbreak of the Revolution of

Winster (Dunbar).

Appointed prefect of the mission.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 134, 22 Junii 1662. "Alexandro Winstero è sette anni, che vi sta con grandissimo utile di quei popoli e soddisfattione dei suoi compagni, diligentissimo nello scrivere e dar relationi, et è stato lasciato per V. Prefetto dal medesimo Bannatino. . . . S. C. pensatis omnibus censuit, Vinsterum in munere Præfecti esse subrogandum."

[2] Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. iii. p. 456. Bishop Leyburne, the English vicar-apostolic, wrote to Propaganda on February 19, 1686, strongly recommending as bishop for Scotland "the superior

1688 he took refuge in Edinburgh Castle, which was held for a time by the Duke of Gordon in the king's name; and at the capitulation of the castle he was permitted to go north unmolested. By his prudent and circumspect conduct he was able to evade all the efforts made by the ministers and soldiers to apprehend him, and he died in peace in 1708, in his eighty-third year.[1]

Winster's report to Rome, December 1668.

Winster despatched from Paris, on December 10, 1668, a detailed report to Propaganda on the condition of the Church in Scotland. It will be of interest to give some account of the contents of this document, which is one of the most important in the archives of the Congregation, as regards the Scottish mission.

The prefect in the first place sets forth that having found it impossible, owing to the multifarious duties of his office, to prepare while in Scotland a report of the religious state of that country, he intends to devote his leisure time in Paris to the fulfilment of the task. He deems this circumstance a fortunate one, inasmuch as the transmission of letters through Scotland is attended with the greatest difficulties, and all communications on Catholic affairs are forbidden

of that mission, who is known to the king, and much esteemed by his Majesty, and by the noble Catholics of this realm. He (Mr Winster) passed the winter in this Court, with his patron, the Duke of Gordon. . . . His mode of life was always most exemplary, and his conduct irreproachable."

[1] Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 625.

by the law.[1] In drawing up his report, Winster made use of the detailed list of questions which were forwarded to every missionary by Propaganda. Among the Catholic nobles, he says, the Marquis of Huntly occupies the first place. The practice of the Catholic religion is prohibited in Scotland by the law of the land, and the Catholics, in consequence, hold their services in private houses, where sermons are preached and the sacraments are administered: in the Highlands, however, this is done with much greater freedom. In the divine service the Roman rite is universally observed, except with regard to the calendar; for in order to avoid confusion, the Catholics, with the majority of the nation, follow the old reckoning. No errors in matters of faith are prevalent amongst them. The practice, which was forced upon them some ten years ago, of being present at the Protestant services, in order to evade the penalties incurred by non-attendance at the Presbyterian church, has through the efforts of the missionaries been altogether abandoned.[2] Not a

Winster's Report, 1668.

The calendar in use in Scotland.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scotia, Scritt. rifer. I. Relatio Winsteri. 6°. "Per Britanniam neque a cursoribus neque ab amicis secure deferuntur literæ, sive relationes, quales S. Congr^io. merito a missionariis exigit, præsertim cum quæstionibus de nominibus, numero et qualitate catholicorum sacerdotum et religiosorum et similibus, quæ quum sub gravissimis pœnis prohibeantur summæ imprudentiæ reputatur, ea cum tanto religionis periculo scriptis committere."

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 18. "Ab omni errore in fide . . . immunes sunt Catholici. Solebant quidem ante decem annos aliqui hæreticorum conciones publicas frequentare, ut pœnas non frequentantibus a

Winster's Report, 1668.

single church is at the disposal of the Catholics; but mass is said and sermons are preached either in private dwellings, or in some cases, as in the Highlands and the Hebrides, in the open fields. There are in Scotland altogether some twelve hundred churches, all of which are in the hands of the Protestants. There is no Catholic bishop in the country; consequently the Catholics, excepting such as live in foreign countries, are deprived of the sacrament of confirmation.[1] The secular and regular clergy perform their duties with fidelity; nor do they receive any stipend in return for their labours in the exercise of their ministry. For as the Catholics, equally with the Protestants, are compelled to contribute to support the preachers, it has been the custom, ever since the Reformation, that they should not be doubly burdened. The secular priests have no fixed place of residence: they are obliged to be constantly moving from place to place, both on account of the persecution, and also in order to minister to their widely scattered flocks, especially to the sick.[2]

Means of subsistence of the clergy.

legibus impositas evitarent, sed jam missionariorum adhortationibus a damnabili illo cum hæreticis commercio abstinent."

[1] Relatio Winsteri, No. 40. "Nullus est in Scotia Episcopus Catholicus, unde Catholici omnes nostrates sacramento Confirmationis privantur, iis solum exceptis, qui ad catholicas nationes se conferunt."

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 62. "Nec sæculares in certo loco ita consistunt, aut consistere possunt, quin sæpe loca subinde mutare necesse sit, ut Catholicis præsertim infirmis hinc inde dispersis et non raro longe dissitis concurrant."

The fathers of the Society of Jesus had recently received, through the Marchioness of Huntly, the sum of two thousand scudi, and Louis XIII. had bestowed an alms of twenty thousand livres on the Scottish mission. Nevertheless the clergy were exceedingly poor. Winster, after mentioning the priests then living in Scotland, goes on to specify a number of others who were residing abroad, being, as he observes, driven thereto by sheer necessity, since they had no private means, and no one to befriend them at home. The wearing of the ecclesiastical dress was strictly forbidden, and all the priests went about in the disguise of laymen. In the Lowland districts clerical vocations had by no means died out, as was shown by the fact that in 1668 the prefect sent five youths to the Scotch College at Paris; but in the Highlands not one had for a long period embraced the ecclesiastical state, and all efforts to procure students were frustrated by the opposition of their parents. While the Protestants were in possession of the whole of the educational establishments, the Catholics had not a single school in the Lowlands; in the Highlands they had succeeded in establishing one or two, under the protection of the Macdonalds;[1] but it was with the

Winster's Report, 1668.

Vocations to the priesthood.

[1] In 1675 there were two schools in the Highlands—one at Glengarry, the other in the island of Barra (see Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. xi). Propaganda would appear to have been disposed at first to insist on Catholic children being sent to these schools from all parts of Scotland—a condition which Winster soon convinced

Winster's Report, 1668.

greatest difficulty that teachers could be got to discharge the duties of their office in those remote districts. There were no convents of nuns in the whole of Scotland.[1]

Obstacles in the way of the mission.

Winster next proceeds to enumerate the obstacles which, according to his judgment, stood in the way of the progress of the Scottish mission. Foremost among these, he says, is of course the severity of the penal laws, which forbid the clergy to celebrate, and the laity to assist at, mass, under

The penal statutes.

pain of exile, confiscation of property, and death. The fact that these statutes are not enforced in all their rigour is to be ascribed only to the good-will of individual officials; for the Parliament is constantly increasing their severity, and the pseudo-bishops and preachers, to whom the people submit not out of conviction but from fear of punishment, as soon as they perceive the least sign of relenting towards the Catholics, at once press for the exaction of the statutory penalties.

Enforced Protestant education.

The second and third obstacles are those enactments which compel the children of Catholics to

them was perfectly impracticable, assuring the cardinals that Catholic parents in Scotland would as soon send their children to school in Jamaica as to the island of Barra.—TRANSLATOR.

[1] Relatio Winsteri, No. 82. "In tota Scotia nullæ sunt Moniales, nec per leges ab hæresis principio contra eas latas esse possunt." More than a century and a half was to elapse from the writing of these words before a community of religious women was again to find a home in Scotland. The Ursulines of Jesus entered on possession of St Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh, in December 1834.—TRANSLATOR.

be educated in Protestantism, and exclude Catholics from every kind of office and dignity. Among the judges, lawyers, and procurators of the kingdom there was not at this time to be found a single Catholic. Winster attributes the deplorable condition of the Scottish Catholics in great measure to the high-handed proceedings of the English Parliament. The refusal on the part of that body to carry out the policy of toleration desired by the king had had the effect of greatly strengthening the hands of the state-bishops in Scotland, who tyrannised alike over Presbyterians and Catholics. The only hope for a better state of things appeared to be in the personal goodwill of the king, who was unwilling to permit the enforcement of the penal statutes. To the difficulties already specified must be added the want of missionaries, and the defective condition of the Scotch Colleges at Paris, Douai, Madrid, and Rome, in all of which there was pressing need of reform. Winster makes especial complaint of the college at Madrid, which, notwithstanding its abundant means, had up to that time educated only five priests;[1] and he remarks of all these seminaries, that they had produced three times as many regular as secular priests for the Scottish mission.[2] The concluding portion of the report

Winster's Report, 1668.

Exclusion of Catholics from civil offices.

Want of reform in the foreign colleges.

[1] See *ante*, p. 58.

[2] Relatio Winsteri. "Constat triplo plures sacerdotes regulares quam sæculares ex iis semper prodiisse, et jam vivunt saltem

Winster's Report, 1668.

contains various petitions for the removal of the great disadvantages under which the mission was labouring, special reference being made to the need of a thorough training of the missionaries, and of a pecuniary subsidy in their support. Winster also submits to the Congregation a number of questions referring to matrimonial rights, the exercise of church patronage in favour of the preachers, the payment of tithes, and other matters. Unfortunately the Acts of Propaganda afford no information as to the answers given to these queries.

Character of Father Winster.

The whole tenor of this important document, of which we have given only the merest outlines, proves Winster to have been a man of exceptional ability, animated with truly apostolic zeal, watching over his extensive field of missionary labour with untiring vigilance, and intent on ameliorating its condition by every means in his power. We meet with his name again in the Acts of Propaganda of the year 1676, when the Congregation appears to have consulted him as to the distribution of missionaries in different parts of Scotland, and also as to the advisability of sending thither an Irish bishop to administer confirmation. Winster does not seem to have considered the latter scheme as practicable under existing circumstances, which would make it impossible for

duplo plures regulares quam sacerdotes sæculares, qui ex iis prodierunt."

the prelate to travel about Scotland except at very considerable personal risk.[1]

John Walker, *pro tem.* superior of the mission.

During Winster's prolonged residence in Paris the office of superior of the Scottish mission was filled by Father John Walker, also a convert to the Catholic religion, which he had embraced in Portugal, while living in that country in the capacity of secretary to Lord Lindsay. He entered the Scotch College at Rome in 1643, and came on the mission in Scotland seven years later. Among the conversions wrought through his means was that of Mr Irvine of Drum,[2] with whom Father Walker had many conferences on religious matters; and these he afterwards published, under the title of *The Presbytery's Trial*, at Paris, whither he retired for a time in 1655, to avoid the rancorous zeal of the Presbyterian ministers. Soon after the return of Winster to Scotland, and his reassumption of the prefectship, Father Walker went to reside in Rome, where he died in 1679, and was buried in the church of Propaganda.[3] In 1680 the clergy elected as vice-prefect of the mission David Burnet, another convert to Catholicism, and also an *alumnus* of the

David Burnet, vice-prefect, 1680.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, 1676, fol. 9. "Non stima bene d^o. Prefetto di chiamare in Scotia un vescovo Ibernese per fare la chresima, stante la difficoltà di condurlo per il regno con pericolo di gran persecutione."

[2] Probably the brother of the Laird of Drum—the same whom we have already seen brought before the Privy Council in 1670, on the usual charges of "Popery."—TRANSLATOR.

[3] Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 623.

Scotch College at Rome. From Paris, where he filled for a time the office of prefect of studies at the Scotch College, Burnet sent to Propaganda in May 1677 a detailed report of his missionary labours during the previous seven years.[1] Ten years later he received the appointment of principal chaplain at the Chapel Royal, Holyrood; but on the outbreak of the Revolution he quitted Edinburgh, not without risk of his life, and repaired to France, whence he afterwards despatched to Propaganda another report, dated from Dunkirk, on the condition of the Scottish Catholics.[2] At the special desire of King James, Burnet returned to Scotland to labour on the mission, and he died there in 1696. We find at this period a number of Scottish names among the professors at the celebrated seminary at Padua, under Cardinal Barberigo. The chair of theology was filled in 1685 by John Paul Jameson, a convert priest from the diocese of Aberdeen, and of some reputation as a historical student;[3] while the professor of Greek about the same time was Robert Strachan, the son of a Presbyterian minister. He had become a Catholic while study-

Scotch professors at Padua.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scotia, Scritture riferite I.

[2] *Ibid.*, Acta 1692, fol. 18. Relationes Em^mi Cardinalis d'Estrée. "David Burnet, sacerdote secolare missionario, e vice prefetto delle missioni di Scotia, scrivendo da Doncherche alli 16 Settembre dell' anno passato, dà conto alle EE. VV.....delle missioni."

[3] See Nicolson, *The Scottish Historical Library* (1736), pp. 29, 64, 74. Robertson, *Statuta Ecclesiæ Scot.*, Preface, p. clxvii, note.

ing at Aberdeen University, and before going to Padua had spent several years at the Scotch College in Rome, where he was ordained priest in 1685.[1] Father William Leslie had a few years previously occupied the theological chair at Padua; but going to Germany on the invitation of his kinsman, General Count Leslie, he rapidly advanced in honour and dignity, and was finally, in 1718, appointed Prince-Bishop of Laybach, Metropolitan of Carniola, and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. He died in 1727, bequeathing among other legacies a thousand florins to the Scotch College at Rome.[2]

Bishop Leslie of Laybach.

The majority of the missionaries in Scotland at this period found themselves, of course, exposed to the greatest hardships and dangers at the outbreak of the Revolution which drove James II. from the throne. Of Father Robert Davidson, who, like so many others, was thrown into prison in 1689, we are told that he was not allowed by the Government so much as a loaf of bread for his subsistence.[3] He was banished for life in

Sufferings of the missionaries at the Revolution.

[1] Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 617.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 576. Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, p. 283. Bishop Leslie also left a thousand crowns to the Scottish mission. In the *Historical Records of the Family of Leslie*, p. 303 *et seq.*, are given some interesting letters from the prelate to his relatives in Scotland. In 1625, he sent to his brother, the laird of Warthill, his portrait and diploma from Padua University, which are still preserved in the family. Leslie's mother was great-niece to the celebrated Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen.—Translator.

[3] Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 540.

1693, but, contriving to return to Scotland, was again apprehended and sent to Ireland, whence he came back once more, and continued to labour on the mission until his death in 1711. James Nicol was another priest imprisoned at the same time, as was also Robert Munro, whose fate was, perhaps, harder than that of any of his contemporaries. Banished from Scotland in 1696, he was again thrown into prison in Flanders on a charge of rebellion against King William. Soon after his release he returned to the Scottish mission, where he laboured for several years; but in 1704 he was once more apprehended, confined in the depth of winter, and while suffering from fever, in a damp dungeon in Glengarry Castle, without even a handful of straw to lie upon, or so much as a glass of water to relieve his burning thirst, the result being that at the end of two days he expired.[1] Alexander Christie, and George, John, and Walter Innes were among others of the secular clergy who, after undergoing, often more than once, imprisonment and banishment, returned with unwearied zeal to resume their apostolic labours in their native country.[2]

Scottish Jesuits.

Among these devoted missionaries we continue to find recorded the names of many members of the Society of Jesus. A letter written in 1683 to Father Oliva, the General, gives some details with regard to John Ogilvie, who had, it appears,

[1] Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 585. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 535, 565, 566.

been long in prison in London, under Cromwell, and had afterwards been reduced almost to starvation in Ireland, where he was compelled "to lurk in the mountains and caverns." He died in 1673 at the seat of the noble family of Winton, near Edinburgh.[1] John Gordon entered the Society at Tournai, in 1660, and was afterwards nominated superior of the Jesuit missionaries in Scotland.[2] The same office was held in 1679 by James Forbes, who seven years later was appointed, together with Thomas Patterson, chaplain to James II. at Holyrood.[3] John Seton, who in 1686 had opened a new mission in Perthshire, was imprisoned at the Revolution, and not released until nearly five years later. The effect of his long confinement was such that he died in 1694, a few months after his discharge.[4] Stephen Maxwell, an *alumnus* of Douai, and sometime professor of philosophy at Carcasson, was also among the sufferers by the Revolution, being confined for several years in Blackness Castle. He was afterwards superior of his brethren on the Scottish mission, and was held in particular esteem by Bishop Gordon, the second vicar-apostolic of Scotland. He died in 1713.[5]

Resuming now the course of our narrative, we find the Congregation of Propaganda resolving, in the year 1677, to appoint a visitor to report

[1] Oliver, *Collections S.J.*, p. 35. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 21. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 38. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

Alexander Leslie appointed visitor to the Scottish mission, 1677.

on the state of religion in Scotland. The choice fell on Alexander Leslie, brother of the Scotch agent in Rome, for whose guidance detailed instructions were drawn up, embodying no less than a hundred and four questions.[1] The visitor accordingly travelled, in the execution of his mission, through the whole of Scotland, not without great difficulty and numberless hardships; and in 1681 forwarded to the Congregation the result of his inquiries. According to his report, the number of communicants in the country amounted to fourteen thousand, of whom twelve thousand belonged to the Highlands and Islands—a state of things which the visitor attributed to the remoteness of those districts from the seat of government, and the consequent impossibility of strictly enforcing the penal laws within their limits. The religious condition of the Lowlands was proportionately unsatisfactory, the small number of communicants in that region being thus distributed: in Galloway, 550; in Glasgow and the neighbourhood, 50; in Forfarshire, 72; in Aberdeenshire, 450; in Banffshire, 1000; and in Morayshire, 28. The report commends the zeal and fidelity both of clergy and laity, adding, however, that few of the faithful, with the best will in the world, have

Number of communicants.

Paucity of Catholics in the Lowlands.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scotia, Scritture riferite I. "Instruttione per il Visitatore di Scotia, 1677." *Ibid.*, Acta, 1677, fol. 66. "Dominum Alexandrum Leslæum in visitatorem elegit, eique mandavit mitti scuta centum pro una vice tantum cum instructione facienda secretario."

the chance of hearing mass more than thrice in the year, in consequence of the necessity which compels the clergy to be constantly travelling from one place to another. The visitor deems some change in the regulations affecting the missions absolutely necessary, and recommends among other measures the following[1]: 1. The allotment of fixed places of residence to the missionaries in the different districts, notwithstanding the opposition of the regular clergy, who desire the continuance of the present system. 2. The grant of uniform faculties to seculars and regulars, so that all occasion of ill-feeling may be removed, and the laity may not be led to suppose the secular priests in any way inferior to the members of religious orders.[2] 3. The nomination of a general superior for Scotland, with authority over seculars and regulars alike[3]; or the latter to be at least bound to exhibit to him their faculties. 4. To ensure an equitable distribution of the income

Recommendations of the visitor.

[1] Leslie's proposals are preserved in the Vatican archives (Cod. Ottob. 3182, fol. 23 *et seq.*) "Supplicationes Visitatoris Missionis Scotiæ ad S. Congregationem de Propaganda Fide, A.D. 1681, die... Januarii." A translation of the report and accompanying petitions will be found in Appendix V.

[2] Supplicatio 2ª. "Ut ad tollendas contentionum et rixarum in Scotia radices, quæ inter Missionarios sacerdotes sæculares et regulares oriri possint, et ut laici non faveant magis unis quam alteris, nec existiment sæculares sacerdotes esse Societatis rejectamina, omnium, tam regularium quam sæcularium, facultates sint uniformes."

[3] Supplicatio 3ª. "Ut missio Scotiæ habeat Superiorem Generalem, qui possit omnes tam sæculares quam regulares continere in officio."

of the mission, every missionary to render a yearly account of his receipts. 5. Inasmuch as the Scotch colleges abroad are at present to a great extent simply novitiates for the religious orders, no student to be henceforth admitted to any of them without a written testimonial from the superior of the mission; and their entrance to be followed as soon as possible by the administration of the missionary oath.[1] 6. The mission to receive an increased subsidy from the Holy See. 7. Missionaries—if necessary, Irish priests, of whom there are many in Paris ready for the work—to be stationed not only in the Highlands and Islands, but also in the Lowlands, even in those districts where the number of Catholics is small. 8. The home for superannuated Scottish clergy at Cadome in Normandy to be, for divers good reasons, transferred to Paris. The visitor concludes by urgently asking the aid of the Congregation in the foundation of schools in the Highlands, and by petitioning for a grant of sacred vessels for the altar, as well as of pious books and devotional objects.

Result of the visitation.

The report of Father Leslie was duly considered by the Congregation, which on March 4, 1681, issued, for the better regulation of the Scottish mission, a number of decrees, whose substance is

[1] Supplicatio 6ª. "Ut statim atque Romam venerint [alumni] et collegium ingressi fuerint, solitum sumant juramentum, unde rectores collegii non tam facile, ut solent, novitiatum faciant collegium pontificium."

given below.[1] The effect of these salutary measures was to inspire the missionaries with new courage, and to instil into them more of a corpo-

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, 1681, fol. 7, March 4, 1681. "Their Eminences, after mature deliberation, were pleased to decree as follows: 1°, That such priests, as in the judgment of the Most Eminent Cardinal of Norfolk are found to be suitable, be sent to the Scottish Mission, in order that the number of labourers in that portion of the Lord's vineyard may be increased.

"2°, That a visitation of the Scots Colleges be made by the same Most Eminent Cardinal, to whom are to be consigned the decrees of this Sacred Congregation regarding the said colleges, that he may provide, as seems best to his prudence, for their due execution.

"3°, That the schools erected in the Highlands and the Hebrides continue to be supported by the Sacred Congregation.

"4°, That the missionaries — both those now in Scotland, and hereafter to be sent thither—be assigned each to their own province and district, and not exercise their faculties or offices beyond the limits marked out for them, except in cases of urgent necessity, and then with the licence and permission of the superior for the time being.

"5°, That the Visitor, Mr Alexander Leslie, return as soon as possible to the Mission, in order to carry out the wishes of the S. Congregation according to the instructions to be drawn up and given to him; and that for this end there be granted to him letters, and all the necessary faculties. With regard to the manner, time, and plan of procedure, the Visitor is to be guided by the said Most Eminent Cardinal of Norfolk, whose commands he is to obey, and to whose prudent counsels he is to conform himself in every respect.

"6°, That there be continued to the Mission the usual subsidy from the S. Congregation of five hundred scudi, to be annually distributed to the said labourers in proportion to their labours and needs, through the superior of the Mission for the time being.

"7°, That the Mission be permitted to transfer from the town of Cadome in Normandy, and to establish in Paris, a home for the reception of aged and infirm missionaries, and also of young men, who before proceeding to Scotland may be instructed in the duties appertaining to the office of a missionary: for which purpose their Eminences are pleased to grant and confirm the continuation of the subsidy of seventy scudi as heretofore decreed.

"8°, That letters be written, in the name of the S. Congregation,

rate spirit than they had hitherto possessed. In April 1687, eight priests met at the residence of the Duke of Gordon, near the mouth of the river Spey, to hold conference under the presidency of the vice-prefect, Father Burnet. The report of this meeting, afterwards laid before Propaganda by Cardinal Howard, contains a number of interesting details. There were, it seems, only six priests at this time in the Highlands, in spite of which the Catholic faith was making progress. Many Catholics were in the habit of contracting

Clerical conference, April 1687.

to the most noble Marquis of Huntly, requesting him to transmit to Paris whatever is left over of the pious legacy of Francis Irvine, after paying out of the principal what is due in Scotland ; that the S. Congregation may, according to the desire of the testator, dispose of the said sum freely and securely for the benefit and advantage of the Mission.

"The above decrees having been referred by the Secretary to the Holy Father, his Holiness commended and approved them all, and by his apostolic authority commanded them to be duly carried out."

Cardinal Philip Howard, whose name occurs in the above decrees as Protector of England, was the third son of Henry Frederick Howard, and grandson of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey. He entered the Dominican Order at Cremona, in 1645 ; but, owing to the opposition of his relatives, was not permitted to make his profession until his vocation had been tested, by order of Pope Innocent X., in various ways and with great severity. He took the vows in October 1646, and studied afterwards for four years at Naples. In 1662 he was appointed first chaplain to Catherine, queen to Charles II., and for twelve years he remained in England, edifying all by his zeal and piety. In 1674 he was driven from England by the popular clamour against Catholics, and retired to Bornhem, where he received in the following year the news of his elevation to the cardinalate by Clement X. The Cardinal, who died in 1694, was greatly esteemed at the Holy See on account of his many virtues and observant life. See Palmer's *Life of Philip Thomas Howard* (1888). Cardella, *Memorie Storiche*, vol. vii.

marriages in the second degree of consanguinity and affinity; and faculties were asked to give the necessary dispensations. Register-books of baptisms, marriages, and deaths were produced and compared, as well as lists of communicants. Special stress was laid on the great difficulty experienced in renewing the holy oils—one which only the appointment of a bishop could remedy.[1] In consequence of the Protestants adhering to the old calendar, a list of the movable feasts was drawn up yearly by the royal chaplains, and published on the feast of the Epiphany. Catholics who permitted their children to be brought up as Protestants, or who were married by the ministers, were refused the sacraments. One of the most important points under discussion was the proposed appointment of a bishop, who might fortify the faithful with the sacrament of confirmation,[2] and represent their interests at court. The names of Winster, Leslie, and Burnet were suggested as suitable candidates for the dignity. The necessity for such an appointment was shown by the fact that many of the clergy, in their religious instructions

Proposed appointment of a bishop.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, 1687. It would appear, from an expression in Cardinal Howard's report, that the holy oils had to be brought to Scotland from London. "Circa la rinuovatione che deve farsi ogni anno de' sagri Olii se n'e parlato nell' Assemblea e se n'è dato incumbenza per lettera al Prefetto [then in London]. Ma dice il procuratore che mai si rimedierà a questo grand' incommodo senza un Vescovo che possa consagrarli e distribuirli a sacerdoti."

[2] "Vescovo, che consoli quei Cattolici col sagramento della confirmatione."

to the people, were in the habit of omitting all mention of the sacrament above mentioned.[1]

Two years previous to the holding of this conference, an event had occurred which greatly affected the interests of the Scottish Catholics. King Charles II. died on February 6, 1685, and was succeeded by his brother James Duke of York, who had married in September 1673 a Catholic princess, Mary Beatrix of Este,[2] and was himself a convert to the Catholic faith. Almost immediately on his accession, the new monarch gave evidence of his wish to secure toleration for his Catholic subjects. In two successive proclamations addressed to the people of Scotland, he promised to uphold the rights of the Established Church, and undertook that the holders of Church property should not be disturbed in their peaceable possession of the same. At the same time he declared suspended by his royal authority the penal statutes against Catholics, pronouncing himself in favour of complete liberty of conscience for all religious denominations.[3] It would be outside

Accession of James II., 1685.

Edicts of toleration, Feb. 12 and July 5, 1686.

[1] Acta, 1681, fol. 7, 8. Ad 15. "Responde [il visitatore Lesleo] che il popolo non è molto istruito circa la cresima, perchè non ei è occasione di conferirgli questo Sagramento. Anzichè nelle montagne non ardiscono i sacerdoti mentovargli questo Sagramento."

[2] It should be noted that this marriage, which was celebrated at Modena by an English Dominican named White, took place not only without the necessary Papal dispensation (James was not as yet a professed Catholic), but in defiance of the express prohibition of the Holy See. See Strickland, *Queens of England*, vol. ix. p. 39 *et seq.*

[3] *State Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 285. Fountainhall, *Decisions*, pp. 1179, 1181.

our scope to enter here either on the faults of James's private life, or the errors of his public policy; but the tenor of his edicts as to religious toleration undoubtedly proves him to have been at least a century in advance of his age. During the residence of James in Edinburgh as Duke of York, the Catholic service had been celebrated in a room in the palace of Holyrood. In December 1687, a royal warrant was issued directing that the Chapel Royal should be repaired and put in order for Catholic worship.[1] A school was also opened at Holyrood, and the king at the same time granted from his privy purse sums of two hundred pounds a-year each for the support of the Chapel Royal, the mission in the Highlands, the secular and also the Jesuit missionaries, and the Scotch Colleges at Douai, Paris, and Rome. It would be difficult to maintain that by these acts of clemency and favour towards his Catholic subjects, James had transgressed the limits of the royal prerogative, as understood by his predecessors. But the bigotry of his Presbyterian subjects, fed by the fanatical zeal of the preachers, could ill brook such countenance of the

Restoration of the mass at Holyrood.

[1] It was the king's intention to commit the restored abbey church of Holyrood to the care of the Augustinian Canons-Regular, its ancient custodians. A curious letter is extant (see the *Month*, Jan. 1890, p. 74) from Father Hay, a member of that Order, dated February 22, 1687, and describing the opening ceremonies in the temporary chapel which had been fitted up in the palace a few months previously.—Translator.

Popular risings in Edinburgh.

abominations of Popery. The popular discontent broke out in repeated risings against the royal authority, and the Chancellor, Lord Perth, who like his master was a convert to Catholicism, was grossly and publicly insulted by the mob when returning, with his Countess, from divine service. The summary punishment of the ringleaders gave rise to renewed tumults, in which a number of persons lost their lives. James himself, on the other hand, cannot be acquitted of a tendency to encroach on the recognised rights of the Church. A complaint was subsequently made from Ireland, through the nuncio at Paris, that the king had expelled from their sees certain bishops nominated by Propaganda, had caused their bulls of appointment to be burned, and had intruded in their places nominees of his own.[1]

Revolution of 1688.

The Catholics of England and Scotland were allowed but a brief space of time to enjoy the cessation from persecution which the accession of James II. had gained for them. The course of

[1] Archiv. Vatic. Lettere del Nuntio di Francia, 1692. "Da Parigi da Mgr. Nunzio, 16 Nov. 1693. Odo maggiori quereli dagli ecclesiastici d'Irlanda, che il Rè Giacomo d'Inghilterra presuma d'arrogarsi il *Jus* di nominare alle chiese di quel regno senza indulto. Dicesi esser sempre controverso dalla S. Sede come si vede nel Baronio e nel P. Tomassini e in una decretale d'Innocenzo III., al vescovo di Casal [Cashel]. Che se ciò si pretende senza Regno, che si farà se fosse reintegrato? Che il Rè Giacomo nel viaggio che fece in Irlanda scacciò tutti i vescovi e parochi postivi dalla Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, brugiando le loro bulle, e ne pose degli altri di propria autorità, col consiglio del suo confessore morto improvisamente l'anno passato in San Germano."

events is well known which finally compelled that monarch, in the year 1688, to abandon his crown to William of Orange, the husband of his eldest daughter Mary, to fly from the kingdom, and seek refuge in France. On July 1, 1690, his last hope of regaining his crown was destroyed by the fatal battle of the Boyne. The successful issue of the Revolution was not less disastrous to the Scottish Episcopalian body than to the Catholics themselves. How little sympathy was felt by the former party with the new order of things had been shown at the first news of the impending evasion, when the whole of the bishops, twelve in number, assembled in Edinburgh, and subscribed an address to James, in which they expressed the most loyal sentiments towards his person, together with the hope that God would "give to him the hearts of his subjects and the necks of his enemies."[1]

Battle of the Boyne, July 1, 1690.

Sympathy of the Scotch Episcopalians with James.

As to the unfortunate Scottish Catholics, they were of course exposed to the full blast of the storm that had swept King James from the throne. Armed mobs paraded the streets of the capital night after night, calling for the heads of the two chief ministers, the Chancellor Perth, and his brother, the Earl of Melfort, Secretary of State. An attempt to break into Holyrood, prevented for a time by the intrepid resistance of the guard, was successfully renewed soon afterwards.

Condition of the Scotch Catholics after the Revolution.

[1] Wodrow, *Hist. of the Sufferings of the Ch. of Scot.*, vol. iv. p. 468.

Pillage of Holyrood.

The gates of the palace were forced, the guards brutally murdered, and chapel, schools, and library were rifled, and their contents publicly burnt. The mob then penetrated into the town, and proceeded to plunder and burn the houses of Catholics and those supposed to favour them.[1] The popular fury was especially directed against Perth and Melfort; the latter escaped safely to France, but the vessel in which the former sailed was boarded by a party of ruffians, and the Earl, with his Countess, was carried to Stirling Castle, where he was closely confined for more than three years. Being at length released, on giving a bond of five thousand pounds to quit Scotland for ever, he betook himself to Rome, where his upright and virtuous life won for him universal esteem. He was on terms of intimate friendship with the

Banishment of Lord Perth.

[1] These excesses occurred in the month of December 1688. We find from the annals of the time that the popular amusement of Pope-burning was not forgotten. The Edinburgh students, on Christmas Day of the same year, solemnly committed an effigy of the Pontiff to the flames, in presence of the magistrates and a number of the Privy Council. A curious contemporary tract, entitled *An Account of the Pope's Procession at Aberdene*, gives a graphic narrative of a similar but even more ceremonious performance enacted a few days later by the students of Marischal College, Aberdeen. A long procession of ecclesiastical dignitaries was followed by a species of drama, in which the Pope, on being informed of the recent change of government in England, falls into a swoon. He is recovered from this by the attentions of the devil, who holds the Pontiff's head, while the latter "vomits forth plots, daggers, indulgences, and the blood of martyrs." The performance ends, of course, with the condemnation of the Pope to the flames; and "during the time of his burning, the spectators were entertained with fireworks and other divertisements."—TRANSLATOR.

celebrated Bossuet, whose controversial writings had been the means of directing him to the Catholic faith; and subsequently to his appointment as Governor to the Prince of Wales, Bossuet dedicated to him an edition of his works. On the death of James II. at St Germains, in September 1701, it was to the pious and eloquent Bishop of Meaux that Perth turned for consolation in his loss. Fifteen years later the ex-Chancellor himself breathed his last, and was buried in the church of the Scotch College at Paris.[1] Among other Scotch converts of distinction at this time we meet with the name of Alexander White, who, after obtaining his doctorate in Aberdeen, went with Charles II. to Flanders, where he was reconciled to the Catholic Church, abandoned his appointment as Court-preacher, and occupied himself with the composition of a learned work, entitled *Refutatio Schismatis Anglicani*."[2] Mention must also be made of John Gordon, the Protestant Bishop of Galloway, who in 1689 went to France and afterwards to Rome, where he embraced Catholicism, was admitted to minor orders, and died in 1726; and of Thomas Forbes, son of the first Bishop of Edinburgh, who was con-

Scottish converts.

Alexander White.

Gordon, Bishop of Galloway.

Thomas Forbes.

[1] Raess, *Die Convertiten seit der Reformation*, vol. xii. p. 415.

[2] Archiv. Propag. Acta, 22 Maii 1662, fol. 59. "Injungatur oratori [Vito] munus revidendi compendium annalium ecclesiasticarum Baronii a Spondano compositum, et nuper in Anglicanam linguam translatum, quod S. Congr^io. imprimi mandavit. Et hujus laboris intuitu aliisque justis de causis erogentur menstrua scuta sex, facto tamen verbo cum Sanctissimo."

verted in early youth, and proved himself a generous benefactor to the Scottish Mission.[1]

Excesses committed against Catholics.

Notwithstanding the assurances which William of Orange had given to the Emperor that the Catholics of Great Britain should continue to enjoy the royal protection, little or nothing seems to have been done to moderate the violence of the popular feeling against them.[2] In December 1688, a party of fanatics sallied out of Edinburgh, broke into the residence of the Countess of Traquhair, on the Tweed, and seized a quantity of pictures, vestments, books, and other articles, which they burnt at the Cross at Peebles.[3] A few months

Raid on Traquhair.

[1] Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 547. Bishop Gordon had been, previous to his nomination to Galloway, "chaplain to his Majesty at New York." He followed the exiled king to St Germains as chaplain to the Protestant members of the royal household; and his conversion to Catholicism probably took place not in Rome but in France. He survived all the other Scotch Caroline Bishops, and died in Rome in 1726.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Archiv. Propag. Acta, 1692, fol. 18. Cardinal D'Estrées, in presenting the report of David Burnet, vice-prefect of the Scottish Mission, states that "Orange, having promised to the Princes his allies not to molest the Catholics, has now, by way of appearing to keep his word, simply abandoned them to the fury and insolence of the mob, not one of whom has been punished for the excesses committed by them." The Cardinal goes on to remark on the malicious attempt that was being made to brand the Catholics as traitors, by obliging them to swear to acknowledge William as lawful King of England, which they could not in conscience do; "a pretext being thus found for persecuting them, not as Catholics, but as rebels." Propaganda is consequently petitioned to sanction the taking of such an oath by the Catholics; the answer being that the matter is remitted for consideration by a particular congregation.

[3] The *Transactions of the Soc. of Antiq.* (Scotl.) for 1857 contain an interesting inventory (contributed by Dr Laing) of the "Romish

later we find recorded the imprisonment in Burntisland Tolbooth, and subsequent banishment, of Mr John Adamson for the sole crime of "Papistry"; and in the following year the committal to Inverness Castle of Alexander Fraser of Kinnaries for a like offence. A more notable case was that of Henry Neville Payne, an English Catholic gentleman, who was apprehended in Dumfriesshire in 1690, and brought to Edinburgh on a charge of being concerned in a plot for the restoration of James. The barbarous tortures inflicted on him by order of the king[1] failed to extort the expected disclosures, and he was recommitted to prison, where he remained for upwards of ten years, being released only in February 1701.[2] The Privy Council Records for 1695

Neville Payne.

wares" carried off from Traquhair by the mob. They included several crucifixes, a triptych lined with cloth-of-gold and inlaid with paintings, two cases of relics, "a timber box, with many wafers in it," "a pot full of holy oil," "Mary and the Babe in a case most curiously wrought in a kind of pearl," some twelve dozen of wax candles, more than a hundred books—"many of them with silver clasps"—and a great number of other articles. In a neighbouring house they came upon two locked trunks, "wherein they found, in one a golden cradle, with Mary and the Babe in her bosom; in the other, the priests' robes."—TRANSLATOR.

[1] The warrant for the torture, subscribed with William's sign-manual, is dated at Kensington Palace. It is printed in the *State Trials*, vol. x. p. 753, note.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Macaulay (*Hist. of England*, vol. iv. p. 682) states, but on no authority, that Payne's "moral character had not stood high" previous to his arrest. Lord Crawford, however, who presided at the application of the torture, declared that he attributed the prisoner's extraordinary constancy in suffering to his strong religious principles. According to Macaulay, Payne continued during the whole

describe a raid made on February 2, 1695, on a house in Canongate, Edinburgh, where the Catholics had assembled for mass. The meeting was "dissipat" by the authorities, and the priest, Father David Fairfoul, together with some of the congregation, which included two fencing-masters and a periwig-maker named James Blair, were committed to prison. Father Fairfoul was afterwards banished, on giving a bond of three hundred pounds not to return to Scotland.[1] A few months later a number of Catholic controversial books were seized in a private house in Edinburgh, and ordered by the Lord Provost to be burnt by the common executioner.[2] Another "Popish meeting," was dispersed in Aberdeen, in June 1698. On this occasion the priests made their escape, but three citizens, named Gibb, Cowie, and Gray, were apprehended and sent to Edinburgh, with all their "Popish trinkets." The Aberdeen magistrates were strictly enjoined to secure "all Popish schoolmasters or schoolmistresses, or breeders of youth in the Popish religion, and all

Forcible dispersion of Catholic congregations.

of his imprisonment to plan fresh plots and insurrections; but we learn from the Privy Council Records (*ann.* 1699) that a part, at least, of those tedious years was spent in devising and perfecting a new and improved system of river navigation.—TRANSLATOR.

[1] *Records of Privy Council.* Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, vol. iii. p. 108.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 146. The titles of the books were *The Exposition of the True Doctrine of the Catholic Church in matters of Controversy; An Answer to M. Dereden's Funeral of the Mass;* and *The Question of Questions, which is, Who ought to be our Judges in all Differences of Religion?*—TRANSLATOR.

priests and trafficking Papists found in their bounds." Less than a year afterwards the Duke of Gordon was seized in his own house in Edinburgh, where mass was being celebrated in presence of a considerable gathering of Catholics. The Duke was imprisoned for a fortnight in the Castle, and was only liberated on presenting a humble apology to the Privy Council.[1] In June of the same year an ex-bailie of Aberdeen, named David Edie, was before the Council on a double charge of apostasy and trafficking, and after some months' imprisonment was banished from the kingdom.[2]

Hardships endured by the clergy.

It was on the scattered clergy of the mission that the severity of the penal laws of course pressed most hardly; and the report of Burnet, the vice-prefect, presented to Propaganda by Cardinal D'Estrées in 1692, gives a graphic picture of the sufferings to which they were exposed. Three out of their small number were languishing in prison, the prefect himself was obliged to remain under cover, and the remainder made their way by stealth and at night from house to house, hardly daring for fear of the Government spies to rest in the same spot for two days together. In winter-time they lay concealed in the cabins of the peasants, and during summer in mountains, woods, and caverns, constantly exposed to hunger and thirst—for be-

[1] Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, vol. iii. pp. 203, 204. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

yond the pittance of twenty scudi allowed them by Propaganda, they had absolutely no means of subsistence.[1]

We have already spoken of John Seton, a Jesuit missionary, who was imprisoned in 1688, and lay for nearly five years in Blackness Castle.[2] The Privy Council Records of 1693 relate that in April of that year, being then seventy years of age, and broken down by the sufferings of his long confinement, he petitioned the Council that they would "not permit him, an old sickly dying man, to languish in prison for the few days he can, by the course of nature and disease, continue in this life," but allow him to retire and close his eyes in peace in the house of some friend. It would seem that the prayer was granted. Only a few years later, however, in May 1700, a new and severe Act of Parliament was passed, assigning a reward of five hundred merks for the detection of every priest or Jesuit, and ordering the instant banishment of all such persons, on pain of death, if they returned to Scotland. Catholics were, by

Fresh legislation against Catholics.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 18, 1692. Relatio Card. D'Estrées. "Dice che 25 sono li sacerdoti che si ritrovano in quella missione, et uno che è esiliato se ne sta in Fiandra. Tre sono tenuti in stretta carcere, et il superiore obbligato a starsene dentro. Li altri sono forzati d'andar, vagando per la campagna di casa in casa in tempo di notte, ne possono molto trattenersi per non esser prese dalle milizie d'*Oranges*. Che nell' inverno stan nascosti ne tugurii dei contadini, e l'estate ne monti, nelle selve, nelle caverne, patendo fame, freddo e fiachezza per la penura delle cose necessarie."

[2] See *ante*, p. 127.

the same statute, declared incapable of inheriting property, or of educating their children.[1]

It was, perhaps, the increasing difficulty of the position in which the Scottish Catholics at this time found themselves, that turned the attention of the Holy See to the expediency of providing greater facilities for the ordination of priests, and complying at length with the desire which the clergy had so often expressed, of being placed under an episcopal superior. On April 27, 1694, Pope Innocent XII. granted an extension of the privileges which had been conceded to the Scotch College at Paris by Paul V. and Urban VIII.[2]; and at a session of Propaganda a few days later it was resolved to nominate a vicar-apostolic for Scotland, who should receive episcopal consecration, and be provided by the Congregation with the necessary pontifical ornaments and other re-

Nomination of the first vicar-apostolic for Scotland, 1694.

[1] *Acts of the Parl. of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 628.

[2] The privileges in question are given in the *Bullar. Propagand.*, Appendix ad tom. i. pp. 125, 340. They were as follows: 1. Paul V., on May 27, 1617, granted to the college the privilege of a private oratory, and to the rector power to give dimissorial letters to the students to receive all the orders, up to the priesthood, *ad titulum paupertatis*. 2. On January 11, 1643, Urban VIII. granted permission to the same students, during the time of their residence at the college, and as long as in the judgment of the Superior they were advancing in their studies, to be admitted to all the orders, including the priesthood, without any dimissorials, except those who were under a bishop of their own; and he also granted them a plenary indulgence at the beginning and end of their course of studies. 3. Innocent XII. confirmed the above privileges on April 27, 1694, and permitted in addition that the students should be ordained not only *extra tempora statuta*, but also without observing the interstices as ordered by the Council of Trent.

Appointment of Thomas Nicolson.

quirements.[1] The name of Thomas Nicolson was proposed for this dignity in July and August 1694, and was approved by Pope Innocent XII. on August 24th of the same year.[2] The new prelate received the same faculties as the bishops of Ireland,[3] and there was secured to him from Propaganda a yearly income of two hundred scudi, with fifty more for travelling expenses. Nicolson was of good Scottish family, being son of Sir Thomas Nicolson of Kemnay. He was born in 1645, brought up a Protestant, and for nearly fourteen years held a professorship at the University of Glasgow. Becoming a Catholic in 1682, he went to study at Douai and Padua, and was ordained priest three years later. In 1687 he returned to Scotland to labour on the mission; but when the Revolution broke out in the following year, although he contrived to make his escape from

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, 1694, fol. 37. (In congregatione præpatoria.) "Eligatur Vicarius Apostolicus cum titulo episcopali in partibus, et dentur ornamenta sacra cum vasis sacris et libris."

[2] Archiv. Propag. Acta, 1694, fol. 100. "Tomaso Nicolson, sacerdote Scozzese, antico e benemerito missionario, il quale ha qualità, dottrina e costumi ecclesiastici." See Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. iii. p. 456.

[3] Archives of the H. Office (communicated by Canon Storti). Sessio fer. v. 11 Novembris 1694. "Tomaso Nicolson, Vescovo Peristachiensis, V.A. nel regno di Scozia, ebbe per decreto di Propaganda de 5 Ottobre 1694, le stesse facoltà che i Vescovi della Irlanda, vale a dire quelle della formola sesta di Propaganda." *Ibid.*, fer. vi. 21 Augusti 1698. "Fuerunt renovatæ ad aliud quinquennium per decretum de Propaganda Fide, 28 Julii 1698, facultates concedi solitæ episcopis pro locis hæresi infectis." The faculties in question were practically identical with those previously granted to the English arch-priests. See *ante*, vol. iii. p. 423 *et seq.*, note.

Edinburgh, he was apprehended at Stirling, and imprisoned for some months. On the security of his brother, he was permitted to leave the country, and crossed over to France, where he was for three years confessor to a convent at Dunkirk. It was here that he received the news of his nomination as Bishop of Peristachium and Vicar-Apostolic for Scotland; and he was consecrated at Paris, in the archbishop's chapel, on February 27, 1695—the officiating prelate being Mgr. Mascaron, Bishop of Agen, assisted by the Bishops of Ypres and Luçon.[1]

His consecration at Paris, February 1695.

Immediately after his consecration, Bishop Nicolson left Paris to return to Scotland; but for want of passports he was compelled to remain in Holland for upwards of a year. From a letter of Giulio Piazza, the internuncio at Brussels, it would seem that the bishop was ready to venture to enter England even without passports, provided that the authorities were willing to cancel the bond for three thousand florins given by his brother as security for his remaining abroad.[2] At the instance of Propaganda, the internuncio applied on Nicolson's behalf to the Duke of Bavaria; and on November 4, 1695, he reported that the Duke had instructed his Ministers to

Difficulties in the way of his return to Scotland.

[1] Brady, *loc. cit.* Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 1.

[2] Archiv. Propag. Acta, 1695, fol. 212. "Purchè possa ottenere prima da questo, ch'il suo fratello sia libero della sigurtà di $\frac{m}{3}$ fiorini, che fece, quando il suddetto Mgr. Nicolson fu mandato in esilio."

see that Scarlatti, his ambassador in London, took the necessary steps to obtain the desired permission.[1] On January 27, 1696, Piazza was able to inform the Congregation that King William had granted the requisite licence, which would be forthwith transmitted to the bishop in Holland.[2] Notwithstanding the royal permission, it would seem that Nicolson was arrested and imprisoned immediately on his arrival in England in November 1696, and was not released until the following May.

Letter from Bishop Nicolson to Propaganda, May 1695.

The bishop's own wish was naturally to enter as soon as possible on the field of labour assigned to him by the Holy See; and we can gather from a letter addressed by him to Propaganda from Brussels on May 17, 1695, what was the spirit in which he was prepared to undertake his new duties. "It will be my endeavour," he wrote,

[1] Arch. Prop. Scozia, Scritt. rifer. I. "Ho trovato così ben disposto il Signor Duca per lettere per impiegare il suo credito in Inghilterra in favore di Mgr. Nicolson, che mi ha promesso di parlarne a quelli suoi ministri, onde informati di quanto si richiede ne possa incaricarsi il Signor Abbate Scarlatti presentemente suo inviato in Londra, acciò procuri al sudetto prelato un passaporto per trasferirsi in Scozia, oppure che ottenga la liberazione del fratello dalla cauzione che per lui chiede quando fu mandato in esiglio."

[2] *Ibid., loc. cit.* "Essendo riuscito al Sign. Abbate Scarlatti mediante le istanze fatte a nome di quello Signor Duca per lettere di ottenere dal Principe d'Oranges a Mgr. Nicolson, Vescovo Peristacheniense, la permissione di portarsi in Scozia, che da me li sarà trasmessa la prossima Domenica in Ollanda." Efforts have recently been made, but unsuccessfully, to discover in the State archives at Munich the report sent to his government by the Bavarian ambassador in London.

"to let his Holiness and the cardinals see from my deeds rather than my words, that it has never even entered my mind to look for a home in this country, but that I am anxious to betake myself as soon as possible to the place of my abode and my labours. . . . Nor am I less firmly determined to keep within the limits of the authority committed to me, that is, of a vicar entirely dependent on the Apostolic See. In truth, I should be guilty of great folly were I to pretend to exercise the jurisdiction of a bishop in ordinary —a course of action which would make a most unfortunate impression on others, and greatly impede the fruit of our labours. We ought to aim at peace and unity, to profit all and hinder none, to secure a sound administration rather by love and kindness than by the authoritative power of our office. . . . I have frequently laid before the internuncio the afflicted condition of our brethren, and have myself informed the most eminent Cardinal de Spada on the subject. I am aware that all priests are by public decree ordered to be banished, and I know also the cruel disposition of the Calvinists who are now in authority in Scotland. In England it is not so; and hence the Belgians infer that the persecution of our people does not emanate from the sovereign; but what is done by the king's privy council must be considered as done by himself." The vicar-apostolic addressed his first report from Scotland to

Nicolson's first report from Scot-

land, September 1697.

the Sacred Congregation on September 21, 1697.[1] Writing from Aberdeen, he expresses his obligations to the nuncios at Cologne and Brussels for their counsel and assistance, and accounts for his delay in reaching Scotland by the fact of his imprisonment in London. He reports highly of the learning, zeal, and piety of the few missionaries in the country, both secular and regular, but deplores the harm done to Catholics by the scepticism and corruption of morals which were everywhere prevalent. He asks for more extended faculties to enable him to meet the difficulties caused by the sanction given by the civil law to marriages within the second degree, and speaks of the efforts which were being made to establish schools in the Highland districts.

His second report, September 1698.

Bishop Nicolson's second report to Propaganda was forwarded on September 5, 1698, through John Irvin, the procurator of the Scotch Mission in Paris.[2] Irvin refers at the beginning of his letter to the persecution at that time raging in Scotland against the Catholic clergy, who, wherever possible, were apprehended and carried prisoners to Edinburgh; and he adds that, being himself one of the best known of their number, he had endeavoured to prevent the further molestation of his colleagues by giving notice to the authorities of his intention to quit the coun-

Persecution prevailing in Scotland.

[1] A translation of the document is given in Appendix VI.

[2] See Appendix VII.

try two months previously. The missionaries then labouring in Scotland included ten Jesuits, four Benedictines, and twenty-three secular priests. The bishop himself was indefatigable not only in the exercise of his episcopal office—confirming, preaching, and instructing both clergy and people—but also in his labours as a simple missionary priest, traversing wide districts on foot in order to visit the sick and administer the sacraments. An Italian version is extant of part of the bishop's own report to the Congregation in the year 1700.[1] This document, which is unfortunately the only one that has been preserved of those transmitted to Rome by Bishop Nicolson at this period of his vicariate, describes the visitation of the Highlands and Islands held in the months of May, June, July, and August 1700. In illustration of the obstacles which he had to encounter, the bishop mentions that he travelled through those wild northern regions for days together without meeting with a single human habitation. His first station was the island of Egg, where he found three hundred Catholics, all constant in the faith and loyal to their king; and he subjoins a singular story about a number of these islanders having recently suffered martyrdom at the hands of an "English pirate named Porringer," who gave them the choice of death or apostasy. On the island of Canna there were

Number of missionaries.

Visitation of the Highlands and Islands, 1700.

Egg.

Canna.

[1] Appendix VIII.

a hundred and thirty Catholics, and some fifteen hundred in Uist, including the owner of the island, the chief of the Macdonalds, who received the bishop with every mark of cordial respect. The latter also refers in high terms to the proprietor of the isle of Barra, an old man and a fervent Catholic, who was accustomed himself to instruct his people every Sunday in religious doctrine. The bishop returned to the mainland at the end of July. He appears to attribute the growth of Protestantism in the Highlands chiefly to the want of sufficient priests, and to the practice of sending the sons of the chieftains to be educated in Protestant schools in the south. The best hopes for the future lay in the proposed establishment of Catholic schools in the West Highlands, although the continuance of the persecutions and the extraordinary efforts requisite to provide for the payment of teachers could not but be a source of great anxiety.

Uist.

Barra.

Moral and religious state of Scotland in 1700.

The period to which belong the devoted labours of the first Scottish vicar-apostolic is perhaps in some respects one of the darkest in the history of our country. We will let an impartial modern writer depict the state of Scotland a century and a half after the establishment of Protestantism. "Men," writes Chambers,[1] "in trying to make each other Episcopalians and Presbyterians, had

[1] *Domestic Annals*, vol. ii. p. 497.

almost ceased to be Christians. The population was small and generally poor, and little had been done to advance the arts of life. Scotland had sent forth no voice in either literature or science; her universities could not train either the lawyer or the physician. No news-sheet, no stage-coaches, no system of police, existed in the realm. In certain intellectual and moral respects, the country was in no better state. The judge was understood to be accessible to private persuasions, and even direct bribes were suspected. The people believed as firmly in witchcraft as in the first principles of religion."

"There was one country"—we cite a historian who is at least not prejudiced in favour of Catholicism[1]—"in which the Puritan ministers succeeded in moulding alike the character and the habits of the nation, and in disseminating their harsh and gloomy tenets through every section of society. While England was breaking loose from her most ancient superstitions, and advancing with gigantic strides along the paths of knowledge, Scotland still cowered in helpless subjection before her clergy. Never was a mental servitude more complete, and never was a tyranny maintained with more inexorable barbarity. Supported by public opinion, the Scottish ministers succeeded in overawing all

[1] Lecky, *History of Rationalism* (ed. 1865), vol. i. pp. 137, 138.

opposition, and prohibiting the faintest expression of adverse opinions." As late as 1773, we are told, the "divines of the associated Presbytery" passed a resolution declaring their belief in witchcraft, and deploring the general scepticism on the subject.[1]

It was hardly to be expected that in the incessant conflicts waged by the opposing Protestant sects, as well against one another as against the adherents of the old religion, which was equally obnoxious to both, much room could be found for the organisation of any public works of a charitable nature. "The ancient Church," as Chambers truly remarks,[2] "was honourably distinguished by its charity towards the poor, and more especially towards the diseased poor; and it was a dreary interval of nearly two centuries which intervened between the extinction of its lazar-houses and leper-houses and the time when merely a civilised humanity dictated the establishment of a regulated means of succour for the sickness-stricken of the humbler classes." It was not until 1721 that the idea was first mooted of founding a hospital in Edinburgh, and nearly another decade passed before it found realisation.

Such was the condition of Scotland when

[1] Lecky, *History of Rationalism*, vol. i. p. 147.
[2] Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, vol. iii. p. 557.

Innocent XII. despatched the first vicar-apostolic to rule the scattered and down-trodden Catholics of that country. It will now be our task to trace the result of his labours, and those of his successors, during the course of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER III.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SCOTLAND FROM 1700 TO 1760.

Condition of the Catholics under William III.

King William III. died in March 1702, after a reign of fourteen years. Some recent writers, notably Onno Klopp in his important historical work on the fall of the House of Stuart, have maintained, chiefly on the ground of the reports of the imperial ambassador in London, that William showed himself somewhat indulgent towards his English Catholic subjects. As far as Scotland and Ireland were concerned, however, this was certainly not the case. The representations made by the imperial ambassador in

In Ireland,

favour of the Irish Catholics promised, indeed, to be effectual, but were followed by no good results. On the contrary, the penal statutes were put into execution both in Ireland and in Scotland, during the reign of William, with even more severity than before; and in order to blind the emperor to the real state of affairs, addresses were circulated in Ireland by the Government,

purporting to assure him, in the name of the unfortunate Catholics, of the complete religious freedom which they were supposed to enjoy. The names of such Catholics as refused to subscribe to these fictitious addresses were surreptitiously added to the documents by order of the authorities.[1]

and in Scotland.

As regarded Scotland, the condition of the Catholics of that country under William III. was little, if at all, better than that of their Irish co-religionists. The king, in fact, abandoned them altogether to the fanaticism of the people, and the priests especially were proceeded against with the utmost severity. The accession of Anne, the sister-in-law of William, and

Accession of Queen Anne.

[1] British Museum, Addit. MSS., 31,248. Papers of Cardinal Gualterio. Letters relating to Irish and Scotch Catholics, 1692-1709, fol. 15 (without date or subscription). "Estratto d'una lettera del Primate d'Irlanda, mandato al suo Procuratore in Roma. Habbiamo cattive novelle della barbara maniera che i nostri amici in Hibernia son trattati dalli heretici. L'anno passato fu fatta lamentatione espressa a l'Imperatore delli oltraggi commessi in cotesto Regno contro li poveri Cattolici, il quale ha scritto al Principe d'Oranges a favore de medesimi. L'Oranges ha rescritto al Imperatore che godevano tutta la libertà che desideravano, e per ciò confirmare maggiormente, ha fatto fare un instrumento che dovea esser sottoscritto da tutto il clero e popolo. Il quale instrumento fu presentato a loro in tutte le parti del Regno per li messi d'Oranges ; ma li Cattolici hanno generalmente rifiutato di sottoscriverlo. Questo rifiuto ha irritato l'Oranges in modo che avanti Natale primo passato ha dato ordine che tutti fossero messi prigione sotto pretesto di sicurtà contro la loro rebellione, ovvero nova calata de Francesi che lui temeva, e questa loro prigionia durò sin al ultimo di Febraro sequente, quando senza la loro saputa hà fatto sottoscrivere il . . . instrumento con i nomi di tutti quanti e l'ha mandato al Imperatore."

younger daughter of James II., brought little relief to the Scottish Catholics. The reign of the last of the Stuarts was signalised by an event fraught with important results for the future of Scotland—namely, the Union, in 1707, of that country and England into one kingdom. "There are a few princes," remarks Burton, "that, from a sincere distaste of royalty and the cares of government, have descended from the throne; but the voluntary consent of a numerous senate to resign its legislative functions for ever is an event unexampled in the history of mankind."[1] The voices of the Marquis of Annandale, Lord Belhaven, and a few more patriotic spirits, were in vain raised to protest against this national humiliation. Once again, as had happened too often in the past history of the country, Scottish scruples were silenced by English gold. Twenty thousand pounds were sent down from the English Treasury for distribution; and the Union was carried by the paltry majority of thirty-three votes. By way of soothing the susceptibilities and calming the apprehensions of the people, it was ordered that the regalia should remain in Scotland, and should be deposited in Edinburgh Castle. A special statute was passed providing for the maintenance and establishment of the Presbyterian system in Scotland. Toleration was at the same time guaranteed to members of the

Union of England and Scotland, 1707.

Means by which it was carried.

[1] Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. viii. ch. lxxxvi.

Episcopal communion;[1] it was enacted that all future successors to the crown must belong to the Church of England, and the claim of the bishops to sit and vote in Parliament was duly recognised. The rights of ecclesiastical patronage were also secured and preserved. Liberty of conscience and worship was refused to only one form of religious belief, and that the one to which the whole nation had adhered for more than a thousand years.[2]

Continued severity of the penal laws.

During the reign of Queen Anne the penal laws continued in full force against the Scottish Catholics. On September 23, 1702, Cardinal Noris presented to Propaganda a report from Bishop Nicolson, stating that the object of the Government was the total extermination of the Catholic religion throughout the country. It was absolutely forbidden to employ Catholics in domestic service, and every effort was being made to apprehend and convict as many priests as possible.[3] James Gordon, Nicolson's procurator in Paris, and rector of the Scotch College there,

[1] The Act of Toleration here referred to was not passed until 1712, five years subsequent to the Union.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] See Burton, *op. cit.*

[3] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 260, 26 Sept. 1702. "Gravezze che soffrono per la presente persecuzione ad essi [Cattolici] mossa dal parlamento di quel Regno con severissimi editti tendenti al esterminio totale della Religione, poichè . . . si proibisce ai padroni di tener servitori Cattolici, si ordina, che si facciano esatte diligenze per iscoprire e carcerare i sacerdoti e condannarli se non abjuranno la s. fede."

wrote at the same time, and in similar terms, to the nuncio.[1] A letter received a few months later by John Irvine Innes, and preserved in the archives of Propaganda, states that rigorous search was being made for priests in every house throughout the country, and that the Privy Council had offered a reward of five hundred marks to any one apprehending a priest. The writer goes on to describe a burlesque procession which had taken place in Edinburgh on the eve of the opening of the General Assembly. A large number of vestments and sacred pictures, which had been found in the houses of Catholics, were carried in triumph through the streets: the common hangman was attired in the richest of these vestments, with a large crucifix in one hand and a consecrated chalice in the other, and his assistants were similarly arrayed. The procession traversed the entire city, amid the blasphemies and execrations of the populace, and the spoils were then publicly committed to the flames.[2] In

Anti-Catholic demonstration in Edinburgh.

[1] Brit. Mus., Addit. MSS., 20,311. Papers of Cardinal Gualterio, 1701-1716, fol. 21. Paris, Id. Septembr. 1702. "Quantum vero mutata sit [conditio missionis] his ultimis decem mensibus, nemo qui non viderit conjicere potest, immanis vero illa in deterius mutatio, ex sævissimis illis recentibus comitiorum Regni decretis fluxit." Philip Antony Gualteri was nuncio in Paris in 1700, and assisted James II. at his last moments. In 1713 he was made cardinal and protector of Scotland. He died in 1728 at Rome, and was buried in the cathedral of Orvieto. See Cardella, *Memorie Storiche*, vol. viii. p. 91.

[2] Archiv. Prop. Scozia, Scritture rifer., vol. ii., 4 Maggio 1704. Al Signor Giovanni Irvino Ludovico Innes. "Deve sapere VS. che

March 1704 the Queen issued a solemn proclamation, calling on all sheriffs, bailies, magistrates, officers of the law, and justices of the peace, at once to "put the laws in force against Jesuits, priests, sayers of mass, resetters or harbourers of priests, or hearers of mass; to seize and apprehend priests, Papists, and Jesuits; to put down all mass meetings. All persons who shall apprehend and convict any priest, Papist, traffiquer, Jesuit, harbourer, or resetter, shall have a reward of five hundred merks, besides

Royal proclamation, 1704.

non si capitano più lettere da due nostri amici in Scotia, i quali sono incarcerati, ovvero assai lontano ritirati per poter nascondersi. Tuttavia dalle lettere d'Inghilterra sapemmo, che presentemente in Scotia è accesa la più crudele persecuzione che dai tempi di Knox mai fosse in quelle parte sentita. Vi hanno fatto uno generale ricerca per tutte le case de' Cattolici del Regno, andando a testa i Presidenti medesimi et i soldati condottieri di quel famoso popolaccio, e con protesto di cercare per sacerdoti hanno spogliato e sacheggiato la più parte de' Cattolici, et a ciò fare ne ha prestato autorità il Consiglio Privato, assegnando cinquecento Marki (cioè una moneta poco meno di un testone l'una) per rimuneratione a quello à cui sarà riuscito di cattivare alcun sacerdote. Più del Sign. Davidson (vecchio missionario del clero e già esiliato una volta e senza licenza ritornato) fatto prigione a Leith quattro o cinque altri sacerdoti sono stato presi ne' contorni d'Edinburgo, sin' oro non sapemmo i loro nomi. Il giorno antecedente alla prima sessione dell' Assemblea Generale di Predicanti, si fece una processione burlesca per tutte le strade d'Edinburgo, portanda in trionfo una grande quantità di paramenti e sacre Imagini, che trovato havevano nelle case de' Cattolici. Tra altri profanamenti, vestirono il publico Boia de' più ricchi ornamenti che havessero, dandogli un gran crocifisso in una mano, et un calice consecrato nell' altra, e nell' istessa foggio pararono il servitore del Boia et altri manigoldi, e quando in questo modo esecrato attraversata havevano tutta la città con inaudite blasfemie abbrucciarono solennemente ogni cosa nella publica piazza."

expenses." The ministers are at the same time commanded to be diligent in taking the names of all persons "suspected of Popery, or who have apostatised from the Protestant religion."[1] The object of this latter regulation was to second the efforts of the Kirk, which had set on foot a system of universal inquisition worthy of the darkest and most intolerant days of the sixteenth century.

Statistics of the Church in Scotland.

In the Miscellany of the Maitland Club is printed a list of "Popish parents and their children in various districts of Scotland, as given in to the Lords of the Privy Council and to the Commission of the General Assembly, 1701 to 1705."[2] The number of Catholics assigned to Edinburgh amounts to 160, among them being the Duke and Duchess of Gordon, with their family and household; Lady Mary Keith (daughter of Earl Marischal); Lady Kerr and her six children; Lady Douglas and family; Alexander Finnie, formerly Episcopal minister at Darnock; Fathers Carnegie and M'Mackie; and several teachers, advocates, surgeons, and members of other professions. From Leith five Catholics are reported, and from Glasgow, which is said to be a place of resort for Papists from other quarters, twelve. A complaint was brought by the Synod of Dumfries that the minister there

[1] *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, vol. iii. p. 392.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 396 *et seq.*

"had by the Papists his horse thrust through with a sword," because he was the means of getting their priest, Father Innes, apprehended.[1] The names of twenty Catholics are returned from Perth. The most interesting details, however, are contained in the reports from the Highlands and Islands, which run as follows: "First—South Uist and Barra. The people here are nearly all Papists. Nicolson, a Popish bishop, was there lately, and in other Highland parishes, giving confirmation. Second—Canna, Rum, and Muck: all Popish. Third—Knoydart and Morar: all Papists except four. Fourth—Arisaig, Moydart, and Glengarry: all Papists except one man. In the above places there are about 4500 Papists. There are six priests and only five ministers in the whole bounds of the Presbytery of Skye." Among the northern lists we find very bitter complaints from the parish of Glengarden of one Calam Grierson, *alias* M'Gregor, a "notorious Papist and receiver of Popish priests," who had built a chapel, had presumed to erect "a very high crucifix on the top of a hill, to be adored by all the neighbourhood," and had public mass and "Popish conventicles" in his house.[2]

The Highlands and Islands.

A popular rising took place in Dumfriesshire in 1704 against the Catholic gentry of the district, several houses being pillaged, and books, pictures,

Protestant rising in Dumfriesshire, 1704.

[1] *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, vol. iii. p. 492.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 424-440.

and other objects of devotion being publicly burned. On March 14 of the same year, a number of Catholic books and vestments were burned at the Cross in Edinburgh; while chalices and other gold and silver articles were ordered by the magistrates to be melted down. The procurator of the Scottish mission duly reported these outrages to Propaganda, and they were brought before the Congregation at a session held in the following September. The same report made mention of the continued persecution of the missionary priests, one of whom had died in consequence, while others were suffering imprisonment and exile.[1]

Lull in the persecution.

During the next few years there would appear to have been a lull in the storm of persecution directed against the Catholics, as we find Bishop Nicolson reporting in 1708 that the mission was enjoying peace, and that many converts were being added to the Church.[2] By the year 1710, however, the ministers, who regarded this increase with jealous eyes, were again successfully agitat-

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 294, 22 Sept. 1704. "Sacerdoti diligentemente cercati dagli eretici per tutte le case de Cattolici, colla morte d'uno de' medesimi, colla prigionia et esilio d'un altro, oltre al pubblico insulto fatti alle sapellettili profanate et abbrucciate per le strade."

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 701, 17 Dec. 1708. "Si per la pace che vi se gode, si anche per il frutto notabile, che vi si fa con le continue conversioni degli eretici, massime nelle montagne." It was during this period of comparative peace that James Gordon (a cadet of the ancient house of Letterfourie) was appointed and consecrated coadjutor-bishop to Bishop Nicolson (April 11, 1706).—TRANSLATOR.

ing for the enforcement of the penal laws;[1] and the first Jacobite rising five years later entailed fresh sufferings on the Scottish Catholics. Many priests were imprisoned or banished, and from a report of Bishop Gordon sent to Propaganda in 1716, it would seem that the persecution was exceptionally virulent. The Catholics were, indeed, in danger of total annihilation, and it almost appeared as if their religion were on the verge of disappearing from the country.[2] In spite, however, of every difficulty, the missionaries continued zealous in the performance of their duties, and conversions of heretics were of daily occurrence.[3] "The great matter we have before us," wrote Wodrow from the General Assembly in 1721, "is the terrible growth of Popery in the north. We met on that committee from three to seven this night. The accounts are most lamentable. . . . Bishops, priests, and Jesuits are exercising openly their functions; seminaries and schools are openly set up, and

Results of the Jacobite rebellion, 1715.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 230, 23 Jun. 1710. "Grave persecuzione mossa contre di essi da ministri eretici, che fanno ogni sforzo per estirpare da quel regno la santa fede, sino a far punir coll' esilio i laici."

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 64, 29 Nov. 1716. "Di modo che questi [Cattolici] restano non solo afflitti, ma oppressi dalla violenza degli eretici e sta in evidente pericolo di perdersi affatto trà pochi anni la religione Cattolica, se Iddio non provede miracolosamente al bisogno. . . . In tanta calamità però non trascurasi dai missionarii il proprio officio."

[3] *Ibid.*, fol. 131, 8 Mart. 1718. "E seguono giornalmente delle conversioni de' medesimi eretici."

multitudes sent abroad and coming home from Popish seminaries every three or four months."[1]

Arrest of Bishop Wallace, 1722.

At a session of Propaganda held in July 1722, a letter was read from the procurator of the Scotch mission, giving an account of the apprehension of Bishop Wallace at Edinburgh two months previously.[2] The bishop was arrested on May the 10th, together with twelve other Catholics, in the house of the Duchess of Gordon, where he was about to say mass, and was taken to prison under a strong guard of soldiers.[3] He was liberated on bail, but declining to appear to take his trial, was formally outlawed. The uneasiness of the Government at the progress of Catholicism in the North is testified by the fact reported by Wodrow, that the king (George I.) granted in 1725 the sum of one thousand pounds to promote Protestantism in the Highlands.[4]

Foundation of Protestant missionary society.

The Holy See was about this time informed of the establishment of a society which, while having

[1] Wodrow, *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 586.

[2] Wallace had been consecrated in 1720 coadjutor to Bishop Gordon.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 340, 7 Julii 1722. "Wallace . . . fu arrestato con dodici persone secolari incirca ivi radunati per udirla [messa], e benchè non lo trovassero in atto di celebrare [he was engaged in hearing confessions—TRANSLATOR], e non fosse riconosciuto per vescovo o sacerdote, nondimeno per sospetto che fosse tale dal suo grave portamento, e che gli altri fossero cattolici, furono condotti tutti insieme sotto buona custodia di soldati alle carceri pubbliche, ove restano strettamente custoditi. *Respons.* Scribatur per Secretarium Status Ulyssiponam."

[4] Wodrow, *Correspondence*, vol. iii. p. 193 (May 7, 1725).

for its ostensible object the spread of Christianity among the heathen, in reality systematised the work of opposition to the Catholic Church by employing every means to procure the apostasy of adherents to the ancient faith. According to a report transmitted by the vicar-apostolic in June 1625, the society in question had at its disposal considerable funds, which were applied to the support of ministers and the erection and maintenance of schools. Efforts were being made to trade upon the necessitous condition of the Catholics, who were in this respect at a great disadvantage with regard to their opponents, and a pecuniary grant was therefore asked for from the Congregation, which assigned a donation accordingly of five hundred scudi.[1] The death of the second Duke of Gordon in 1728 was a serious blow to the Catholics of Scotland. Ever since the Reformation this powerful family had remained staunch to the Church, and had furnished her with a long succession of faithful

Death of the Duke of Gordon, 1728.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 175, 9 April 1726. "Una certa compagnia a titolo di propagare la fede Cristiana tra i Barbari, ma diretta in fatto alla perversione dei Cattolici, che si contengono costanti, in tutti quei paesi. . . . Sicchè potranno mandare in ogni parte gran numero di maestri, catechisti, e predicanti per aprir scuole dappertutto della loro eresia; spargendo libri ripieni di falze calunnie. *Respons.* Annuerunt pro summa scutorum quingentorum pro una vice." The allusion is not improbably to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, founded in 1701. The first exclusively Scotch Protestant missionary body (the Scottish Missionary Society) did not come into existence until nearly a century later (1796).—Translator.

defenders. Unhappily, the second duke had married a Protestant, Henrietta Mordaunt, who, after his death, was induced to bring up the whole family in her own religion. The duchess, who survived her husband thirty years, was rewarded by Government with a pension of a thousand pounds.[1]

Labours of Bishop Nicolson.

Throughout the twenty-three years of his vicariate, Bishop Nicolson manifested a truly apostolic zeal in the performance of the arduous and important duties intrusted to him by the Holy See. One of his first cares was to divide the whole country into fixed districts, to each of which missionaries were assigned; and he proceeded shortly afterwards to draw up, for the better regulation of the mission, a code of statutes which has continued in force almost down to our own times.[2] They were preceded by a number of *monita*, or admonitions, having special reference to the relations of the missionary priests with their Protestant neighbours, warning them against internal dissensions, and exhorting them to animate their flocks, both by example and precept, to lead edifying and Christian lives. The statutes themselves, which were unanimously agreed upon

The *Statuta Missionis.*

[1] Walsh, *History of Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 500.

[2] This is not quite accurate. The *statuta* of Bishop Nicolson continued to regulate the Scottish mission until 1780, when Bishop Hay and his colleagues incorporated them into the new code of statutes which they drew up that year. See *Life of Bishop Hay* (Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 209).—TRANSLATOR.

at a meeting of the clergy held in April 1700, and afterwards received the sanction of Propaganda, form a very complete and important index to the condition and needs of the Scottish mission at that time. The following is a summary of their provisions. The *first title* treats of the Catholic faith. 1. The clergy are forbidden to stigmatise any Catholic as guilty of heresy unless clear proof can be brought against him. 2. They are not to dispute amongst themselves, either publicly or privately, on religious questions. 3. The faithful are to be warned against the errors of the *Bourignonites*.[1] 4. The clergy are not to enter on religious discussions with the ministers without the previous approbation of their superiors. 5. Catholics assisting at Protestant services, either for temporal gain or to avert some loss from themselves, are to be subjected to public penance. *Second title:* of reconciling heretics. 1. The motives which lead heretics to seek reconciliation with the Church are to be sedulously examined; and they are to be exhorted not only to the acceptance of the Catholic faith, but also to amendment of life. 2. Converts must receive careful instruction before being admitted into the Church. 3. Those already under the censures of

Statuta Missionis (1700).

1. Of the Catholic faith.

2. Of reconciling heretics.

[1] See Hergenröther, *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 685. Antoinette Bourignon de la Porte died in 1680 at Franeker in Friesland. She was the author of several treatises embodying visionary and erroneous ideas, and deeply tinged with Quietism.

Statuta Missionis (1700).

their own Church are to be diligently proved, and not received without the previous sanction of the vicar-apostolic or his representatives. *Third title:* of the authority of the bishop. 1. All the clergy, including, according to a decree of Propaganda, Jesuits and regulars of every kind, are subjected to the bishop as regards hearing confessions, the cure of souls, and administration of the sacraments. 2. Special and more ample faculties will be granted to such experienced and worthy priests as the bishop may select. 3. The reserved cases are arson, homicide, duelling, incest in the first degree, and burglary. 4. Cause of dispute, should such arise, between the regular and secular clergy to be referred to the bishop, and from him, if necessary, to the Holy See. 5. Vows of perpetual chastity not to be administered to women without the episcopal authority. *Fourth title:* of the pastoral office. 1. The missionaries are to have fixed places of residence, and not to change them without due authority. 2. Every pastor is to render an account of his administration to the bishop or his delegates. 3. To ensure uniformity of discipline, confessors are to be guided by the Roman Ritual and the instructions of St Charles Borromeo. 4. The movable feasts of the year are to be announced to the people at the Epiphany. 5. The time for fulfilling the Easter obligation is to be prolonged, if necessary, until Pentecost; and the names of

3. Of the bishops.

4. Of the pastoral office.

those failing to fulfil it by the latter date are to be given in to the bishop. 6. Public and scandalous offenders are to be subjected to public penance. 7. Apostates not to be reconciled to the Church until they have been diligently tried and have made public satisfaction. 8. The same to be observed with regard to soothsayers and sorcerers. 9. Each missionary is to keep a register of baptisms, marriages, deaths, and conversions, and to take due precautions that it does not fall into the hands of heretics. 10. The deaths of benefactors and of brother-priests are also to be registered, that due prayers may be offered for them. *Fifth title:* of the priestly life and character. 1. The spiritual welfare of the flock depends in great measure on the virtues of the pastor. 2. The clergy are to beware of frequenting taverns, of familiarity with the other sex, publicly joining in field-sports or similar gatherings. 3. Each pastor before entering on the mission, and every year afterwards, is to make a retreat for several days. 4. No missionary to be absent from his flock for more than three weeks without express permission. 5. The clergy are only permitted to carry arms for purposes of self-defence, where necessary. *Sixth title:* of the instruction of youth. 1. Parents are to be impressed with the importance of religious teaching for their children. 2. Those who permit their children to be brought up in heresy

Statuta Missionis (1700).

5. Of the priestly life and character.

6. Of the instruction of youth.

Statuta Missionis (1700).

are to do public penance, and to be deprived of the sacraments. 3. The clergy are to give religious instruction not only on Sundays and Festivals, but are to seek out the young and ignorant in their own homes for the purpose. 4. Pastors, especially in the Highlands, are to make every effort to establish Catholic schools in their respective districts. 5. In order to increase the number of labourers in the vineyard, the clergy are to endeavour to select from among their flocks, and to provide for the education of, such youths as appear to be adapted for the priesthood. *Seventh and eighth titles:* of the feasts and fasts of the Church.[1] *Ninth title:* of baptism and confirmation. 1. The clergy are not to baptise the children of Protestants, except on these conditions: proximate danger of death, refusal on the part of the ministers to baptise, and the sponsors to be Catholic. 2. Catholics who permit their children to be baptised by the ministers—in itself a grave sin, and the source of

7, 8. Of feasts and fasts.

9. Of baptism and confirmation.

[1] The holy-days of obligation prescribed are the following: Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Ascension, Corpus Christi, Nativity of St John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, Assumption, All Saints, Christmas and two following days. The fasting-days are the forty days of Lent, Ember Days, Vigils of St Matthias, Pentecost, St John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, St James, St Laurence, the Assumption, St Bartholomew, St Matthew, SS. Simon and Jude, All Saints, St Andrew, St Thomas, and Christmas Day. It is ordered that in Lent the principal meal be not taken until sunset, on other fasting-days about three P.M. The faithful are further recommended not to prepare meat on fasting or abstinence days for Protestants who chance to visit them.—TRANSLATOR.

many others—to be subjected to public penance. 3. Those not yet confirmed are to be prepared with all due care for the reception of this sacrament. *Statuta Missionis* (1700).

Tenth title: of the Holy Eucharist. 1. Although under existing circumstances the sacred species cannot reverently be reserved for any length of time, yet should the *viaticum* be required for the sick on a day on which the priest cannot celebrate, reservation may be allowed with all due precautions. 2. Those who seek reconciliation with the Church on their death-beds must not be hastily admitted to Holy Communion, unless they show some sign of understanding the Catholic doctrine as to this mystery. 3. Converts are not to be permitted to assist at mass until after they have made their profession of faith; and public sinners are to be excluded from the holy mysteries as long as they refuse to amend. 4. Priests may be permitted to duplicate in cases of necessity, and with proper authority. 5. Pastors are to be careful with regard to the cleanliness of vestments, altar-linen, and sacred vessels. 10. Of the Holy Eucharist.

Eleventh title: of penance. 1. The absolution of habitual sinners is to be deferred until they show sign of amendment. 2. No one is to be absolved who does not know the Our Father, the Creed, and the commandments of God and the Church. 3. The clergy, both secular and regular, are to be cautious as to giving absolution to penitents who are not mem- 11. Of penance.

Statuta Missionis (1700).

bers of their own flock. 4. Notorious sinners are to be exhorted to confess their sins at the beginning of Lent, and so prepare to receive Holy Communion at Easter. *Twelfth title:* of matrimony. 1. No priest is to officiate at the marriage of two heretics. 2. In the case of mixed marriages, the Catholic party must endeavour to induce the other to embrace the true faith; and if the wife be a Catholic, she must try to obtain her husband's consent to their children being brought up Catholics. 3. Matrimony is to be preceded by confession, in the case of those who are in mortal sin. 4. Catholics who are married only by a Protestant minister are to do public penance; and the Protestant rite is forbidden, even if they have already been married in the Catholic Church. 5. As far as circumstances permit, the banns are always to be published before marriage.

12. Of matrimony.

13. Of usury.

Thirteenth title: of usury. Usury — that is, the demanding of exorbitant interest on loans— is unlawful, and the faithful are to be cautioned against such practices.[1]

Foundation of a seminary at Scalan (1712),

The vicariate of Bishop Nicolson was signalised by the foundation, about the year 1712, of the little seminary of Scalan, in the Braes of Glenlivat. In this secluded spot, accessible only by

[1] The above summary has been somewhat enlarged from that in the German text, and gives the substance of the whole of the *Statuta*. It has consequently not been thought necessary to print in full the very lengthy Latin original, which the author has given in the Appendix to vol. ii.—TRANSLATOR.

a bridle-path, "hardly known but to a few shepherds, or to the wandering sportsman,"[1] was planted the humble seat of learning, in which many excellent priests and more than one bishop were to receive their early training for the missionary life. Meanwhile, in distant Ratisbon, and at Ratisbon. Abbot Placid Fleming, the zealous and devoted superior of the Scottish Abbey of St James, had been exerting himself to foster the missionary zeal of his community, and to establish within his walls a seminary for the education of Scottish priests.[2] As early as 1697 he had petitioned the Holy See that the first vacant benefice in his gift might be bestowed on the new institution;[3] and we find a subsequent petition for a grant in aid of the seminary referred by Innocent XII. to Propaganda, on April 6, 1699. The Congregation in March 1701 assigned a sum of money in support of St James's, and the nuncio at Cologne was at the same time instructed to recommend the case to the Elector.[4] By the year 1718 Mgr. Caraffa, Archbishop of Larissa and secretary to Propaganda, was able to present a report from Abbot Fleming, from which it ap-

[1] Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 205.

[2] The *Liber Benefactorum* (Fort-Augustus MS.) of the Abbey of St James contains a duplicate of the letter of the Bishop of Ratisbon, approving the foundation of the seminary. It is dated November 24, 1681. Abbot Fleming's administration lasted from 1672 to 1720. —Translator.

[3] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 184: ann. 1697.

[4] *Ibid.*, 6 April. 1699, fol. 59; 8 Martii 1701.

Benefactions to the seminary at Ratisbon.

peared that eighteen Scottish youths were being educated in the new seminary, that the Bishop of Eichstadt had assigned to it a yearly endowment of a thousand florins, with a promise of twenty thousand at his death,[1] that the Duke of Bavaria had contributed sixteen thousand florins,[2] and the coadjutor-Bishop of Eichstadt had built a house for the seminarists.[3] At a session of Propaganda held on April 22, 1720, the statutes of the seminary were approved, subject to a modification of the missionary oath.[4] Unfortunately, owing to mismanagement of the

[1] Besides the above-mentioned donations, the *Liber Benefactorum* records the gift from the same generous prelate, "ex liberalissima sua munificentia, et in nos Scotos exules pietate," of eight lesser iron stoves for the cells of the senior priests; *item*, one large one for the new refectory, *anno* 1721. The bishop presented the community at different times with no less than twenty such stoves, "four adorned with the image of Christ crucified," and the remaining sixteen with his own arms.—*Fort-Augustus MS.*—TRANSLATOR.

[2] The Duke also founded eight burses in the seminary, and assigned to it an annual endowment of eight hundred florins.—*Lib. Benefact.*—TRANSLATOR.

[3] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 601, 15 Nov. 1718. *Rescript.* "Laudandus et ad D$^{num.}$ Secretarium cum Sanctissimo." *Ibid.*, "Si spediscano brevi di rendimento di grazie a detti Principi."

[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 239, 22 April 1738. The words added to the oath were: "Atque ibi [in Scotia] permanere, ita tamen, ut donec in missione permansero in omnibus missionis exercitium concernentibus Vicario Apostolico ipsius Regni Scotiæ seu alterius pro tempore subjectus manere debeam." The original form of the oath, as first taken by the community of St James's, on September 11, 1719, is extant in a contemporary document (*Fort-Augustus MS.*) It contains no mention of subjection to the bishop in Scotland; but the words "sub obedientia et directione vicarii apostolici quoad exercitia missionis" are inserted in another and a later handwriting. —TRANSLATOR.

property, and to the refusal of the subsequent Bishops of Eichstadt to continue their pecuniary support, the progress and usefulness of the institution became seriously impaired; and we find the abbot in April 1752 making grievous complaint to Propaganda of its necessitous condition, and declaring the continuance of the work impossible unless the Ratisbon missionaries were to receive from the Congregation a like subsidy with the rest of the clergy.[1] Twenty years later the Scotch bishops appear to have expressed to the Holy See their dissatisfaction with the Abbot of Ratisbon, who neither sent them any help, nor even any reply to their letters.[2]

Episcopal visitation of the Highlands (1701).

In 1701 Bishop Nicolson made a visitation of the Highlands and Islands, where he confirmed no less than three thousand persons. Five years later he visited Braemar for the first time, taking advantage of the absence of Lord Mar, who was far from friendly to the Catholics. The faithful

[1] A translation of the abbot's letter will be found in Appendix IX.

[2] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scritture rifer. III. "Ab eo [Ratisbonæ Benedictinorum Patre Abbate] autem non solum nihil adhuc auxilii, sed ne responsum quidem ullum accepimus." It must not be supposed from the above that the foundation of good Abbot Fleming was followed by no good results for the Church in Scotland. "From its commencement until 1848," writes Bishop Forbes, "126 young Scotsmen were educated in it. Thirty of these appear to have become monks, and about ten were ordained as secular priests for the Scottish mission."—*Edinburgh Review*, No. 243, p. 181, note. In the *Catalogus Alumnorum* of the seminary (*Fort-Augustus MS.*) are inscribed many names belonging to the oldest and most illustrious families of Scotland.—TRANSLATOR.

in this district numbered some five hundred, who were ministered to by fathers of the Society of Jesus. The preservation of the faith through the storms of the Reformation and subsequent revolutions was attributed by the people themselves to the circumstance that the Church had held no possessions there, and that consequently no one had been tempted to make himself master of ecclesiastical property under the pretext of embracing the pure Gospel. More than all, the parish priest at the time of the Reformation, whose name was Owen, had not, like so many others, fled before the tempest, but had remained faithful at his post.[1] The year following his visit to Braemar, the bishop thought it desirable, at a general meeting of the clergy, to arrange a new division of the country into districts; there being at this time, as it appeared, thirty-six priests on the Scottish mission, including fifteen seculars, eleven Jesuits, five Franciscans, four Benedictines, and one Augustinian.

New division of the missions.

With the object of drawing closer the bonds that united the Scottish missionary clergy, Bishop Nicolson in 1704 laid before Propaganda, through his procurator, a proposal for the erection of a capitular body. It was to consist of members of the secular clergy only, on whom, on the death of the bishop, or ordinary of Scotland (as he was to be styled), was to devolve the episcopal juris-

Proposed erection of a chapter for Scotland (1704).

[1] Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 2.

diction. This proposal did not find favour with the Holy See, and reference was made in the reply to the former uncanonical erection of the English chapter, and the inconveniences to which it had given rise. The Congregation, however, was desirous of affording relief to the bishop by other means—namely, by recommending to the Pope the appointment of a coadjutor.[1] George Adamson, who was at first nominated, declined the charge owing to ill health, and the choice then fell upon James Gordon. In a letter dated November 18, 1705, thanking the Holy See for this appointment, Bishop Nicolson reported numerous conversions among the poorer classes, and mentioned the recent banishment of two of his clergy—one a secular priest, and the other a Benedictine.[2]

Appointment of James Gordon as coadjutor-bishop, 1705.

By the appointment of his coadjutor, the vicar-apostolic found his labours materially lightened. The new prelate, born in Banffshire about 1664, was educated in the Scotch College at Paris, and immediately after his ordination, in 1692, came to the mission in Scotland, where he laboured in

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 294, 22 Sept. 1704. The petition ran thus: "Che si riduca canonicamente all' essere di capitolo, ò altro corpo e communità legittimo quel clero secolare, sopponendo che in tal forma alla morte di quel Vescovo e Vicario Apostolico, l'ordinaria giurisdizione si devolverà *de jure communi* a quel capitolo." *Rescrib.* "Supplicandum Sanctissimo pro deputatione Coadjutoris Vicario Apostolico Scotiæ, et cum futura successione cum charactere episcopali in partibus infidelium."

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 18, 1705.

his native district for ten years. In 1702, he was sent to Rome as assistant to William Leslie, the Scottish agent, and while there was selected as coadjutor to Bishop Nicolson. At the desire of Pope Clement XI., he was consecrated quietly at Montefiascone by Cardinal Barbarigo, and a few months later returned to Scotland, visiting, on his way through Paris, the exiled Royal Family of England. Bishop Gordon lost no time in beginning to exercise his pastoral functions, and in 1707 he made his first visitation of the Highlands and Islands, accompanied by a Gaelic-speaking deacon, who acted as the bishop's interpreter in those districts where the English language was unknown.[1] From the episcopal report, presented to Propaganda by Mgr. Cavalieri on September 3, 1708, it appears that in the course of the visitation 2740 persons were confirmed, many abuses were rectified, salutary exhortations given to the missionaries, one school opened, and steps taken for the inauguration of another. The work could be performed only at the cost of difficulties and privations of all kinds, including insufficiency of food and perils from tempestuous weather; and the Congregation, in replying to the report, referred in terms

Bishop Gordon in the Highlands (1707).

[1] Before the close of the visitation, the young deacon, whose name was Dalglish or Douglas, was ordained priest at Scothouse, in Knoydart. The incident is worth noting, as the first recorded ordination which had taken place in Scotland since the Reformation.—TRANSLATOR.

of high commendation to the apostolic labours of the bishop and his companions.[1]

The zealous support and co-operation of Bishop Gordon were of special service to the vicar-apostolic during the stormy days of the first Jacobite rising. Writing to Propaganda in the last days of the eventful year 1715, the coadjutor described, in graphic terms, how Bishop Nicolson and the priest who resided with him had been actually captured by the authorities, but had providentially escaped; how the preachers were straining every nerve to hound down the unfortunate Catholics; and how the missionaries not only stood firm themselves in the midst of the tempest, but were even reconciling many wanderers to the Church. Bishop Nicolson did not long survive this fresh outburst of persecution.[2] On

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 550, 3 Sept. 1708. "Dice d'aver cresimati 2740 cattolici, levato multi abusi, e dato ordini salutari a quei sacerdoti missionarii, de' quali si loda. . . . Dice haver patiti grandissimi incomodi, etc." *Rescrib.* "Laudamus summopere."

[2] British Mus., Addit. MSS., 20,311. *Papers of Card. Gualterio*, fol. 379. Jacobus Gordonus, Episcopus coadjutor ad E^mos. Cardinales Cong^nis. de Prop. Fid. Edinburg., 3 Kal. Dec. 1716. "Grave admodum nobis fuit et multa materia doloris, quod tam diuturno tempore non licuerit literas dare. . . . Captus fuit ineunte Martio Peristachiensis [*i.e.*, Episcopus Nicolson], simul cum sacerdote, qui ut plurimum cum illo commoratur, sed singulari Dei providentia elapsi sunt ambo. In multis aliis locis insidiæ sacerdotibus positæ fuerunt et ipsi diligenter investigati, laici etiam quandoque illorum vice comprehensi sunt, et ad carceres tracti, et plerique fideles laici in domibus suis tuti non sunt, et jam exulare aut errabundi vagare coguntur. Tantus est ministrorum Presbyterianorum furor, ut Catholicos quiescere nunquam sinant, sed insidiosis et falsis querelis Magistratus in illos continuo concitent, aut severissimis iteratisque

Death of Bishop Nicolson (1718).

October 23, 1718, he closed his laborious and fruitful life at Preshome, in Banffshire, where his declining years had been chiefly spent. The inscription on his monument, written by his faithful coadjutor, testifies to the learning, charity, and virtue of the deceased prelate, and bears out the opinion universally entertained by the clergy of the Scottish mission, who, in a report addressed to Propaganda in 1702, had borne unanimous witness to the bishop's apostolic zeal and pastoral vigilance, and to the solicitude, mingled with prudence, with which he exhorted, instructed, consoled, and animated his flock.[1] Bishop Gordon wrote to announce the death of the vicar-apostolic to the Congregation, who, in turn, assured him of their protection, and assigned to him an annual grant of two hundred scudi, and faculties for dispensing in matrimonial cases within the second degree.[2]

Like his predecessor, Bishop Gordon soon found

persecutionibus infestent. Missionarii tamen omnes vel stationes suas servant, vel non procul abscedunt, a divinis obeundis officiis non desistunt et missionem se non deserturos . . . pollicentur, et quod mirandum, hæretici aliqui per sacerdotum operam fidem complectuntur: pauci quidem, sed fide præstantes, dum nihil aliud meditantur adversarii, quam ut nos fidemque nostram ex hoc regno radicitus ac subito eliminent."

[1] The epitaph is printed by Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 2. *Cf.* Archiv. Propag., Scritture rifer. II., 12 Aug. 1712. "Præsentia nimirum et insignis Ill^mi. Episcopi, Vicarii Apostolici zelus et vigilantia pastoralis, atque conjuncta cum summa solicitudine prudentia, qui humeris suis omnium onera sustentans, undique circumeundo hos hortatur, hos instruit, alios solatur, alios confirmat."

[2] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 132, 9 Novemb. 1718.

the need of a coadjutor to assist him in his laborious duties; and his choice fell upon John Wallace, a native of Arbroath, and son of the provost of that town. Wallace had been brought up a Protestant, and had officiated for some time as an Episcopalian minister; but on his conversion to Catholicism, which took place probably before the Revolution, he was appointed tutor to the children of the Duke of Perth, and travelled with them in France and Italy. Bishop Gordon brought Wallace back with him in 1706 from Paris to Scotland, where he was ordained two years later, and stationed on the mission at Arbroath. He was summoned before the Justiciary Court at Perth in 1709, on the charge of "apostatizing to the Popish religion"; but failing to appear, was outlawed.[1] The zeal and success with which Wallace prosecuted his missionary labours recommended him to Bishop Gordon, on the death of Nicolson, as a fitting coadjutor to himself. James III. wrote in his favour to Cardinal Sacripanti, who, on the death of Cardinal Howard, had been appointed by Clement XI. protector of Scotland;[2] while the bishop himself

Nomination of Bishop John Wallace.

Wallace before the Justiciary Court.

[1] Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 6.

[2] British Mus., *Papers of Card. Gualterio.* Letters of James III. (1707-1728), 20,292, fol. 222. To Cardinal Sacripanti. "J'ay receu une lettre de Mr l'Évêque Gordon, Vicaire Apostolique d'Écosse, dans laquelle il m'informe qu'il vous a recommandé un très digne sujet, le sieur Jean Wallace, prêtre et ancien missionaire en Écosse, pour être son Coadjuteur, en cas que S.S. juge à propos de lui accorder cette consolation. . . . Ainsi je vous écris cette

proposed his name to the Congregation of Propaganda. On April 8, 1720, he was nominated Bishop of Cyrrha, and six months later he was privately consecrated in Edinburgh by Bishop Gordon, assisted by two priests. The circumstances of his apprehension and imprisonment in 1722 have already been alluded to. He was obliged in consequence to keep himself in the background, and to confine his ministrations to districts where he was little known; and, moreover, he was already of an age which incapacitated him from the performance of any very active or laborious duties.

Apostolic zeal of Bishop Gordon.

The chief burden of the administration of the Scottish mission thus remained on the shoulders of Bishop Gordon; and we may gather, from the reports which he transmitted from time to time

lettre pour joindre ma recommandation avec celle de l'Évêque en faveur du dit Sieur Wallace, qui m'est personellement connu pour un très-pieux prêtre, egalement humble et sçavant, et contre qui il ne peut pas y avoir la moindre exception."

From another letter addressed by James to the Cardinal (fol. 104), it would seem that he had also a voice in the appointment of the Irish bishops. "Mon cousin," it begins, "Aiant recu il y a quelque temps une lettre de Mr l'Internonce de Bruxelles, par la quelle il me sollicite extrêmement de nommer aux Évêchés vacantes d'Irlande." The Pretender was likewise accorded by Clement XII. the privilege of nominating a cardinal. "Facultatem eidem [Jacobo] concessit nominandi aliquem ad cardinalatum, ut in hoc cæteris Regibus exæquaretur."—*Commentarius de vita ac rebus gestis Clementis XII.*, p. 80. James made use of the privilege once, in recommending for the cardinalate Guérin de Tencin, Archbishop of Embrun, 1724-1739, and afterwards of Lyons, 1740-1758 (*ibid.*, p. 147)—the same who, in 1727, convoked the celebrated council of Embrun. See *Collectio Concilior. Lacens.*, vol. i. pp. 617-630.

to the Holy See, with what zeal and fidelity he fulfilled his office. In a joint letter addressed to Propaganda by the bishop and his coadjutor in October 1723, the writers dwell on the untiring efforts which the ministers were making to suppress the ancient faith, and the constant activity which they displayed, even in the remotest parts of the country, in stirring up popular feeling against the Catholics. Their hostility was especially directed against Catholic schools. Laws had recently been enacted which, ostensibly aimed at the pretensions of James III. to the throne of Great Britain, declared in reality war to the death against religion, by imposing on Catholics the alternative either of apostasy or of utter ruin. The bishops express their surprise at the indifference manifested by Catholic princes at this juncture, contrasting it with the promptness shown by Protestant monarchs in resenting the slightest encroachment on the freedom of their co-religionists; and the Pope is entreated to cause fitting representations on the subject to be made by the nuncios at the Catholic courts. In spite of all, the clergy and faithful remain staunch and constant to their religion: "nay," add the writers, "such is the strength of faith and firmness displayed by the laity, that we know of hardly one in all Scotland who has abandoned the faith, excepting a few in one small island, the Protestant proprietor of which has used every kind of force

Popular feeling against Catholics.

Staunchness of clergy and laity to the faith.

and cunning in order to deceive and overthrow a certain number of converts, hardly as yet grounded in their religion." To Bishop Wallace had been assigned the charge of the Lowlands, while Bishop Gordon in 1722 made a second visitation of the Highlands and Islands, confirming some 2600 persons, among whom were many converts and persons of position. He visited on this occasion some districts where no bishop had ever set foot before him; and where, besides administering the sacraments, he sought to console the faithful in their afflictions, and, where he found it requisite, to restore peace that had been broken.[1]

Renewed persecution of Catholics.

During the next few years the persecution directed against the Catholics of Scotland appears to have been especially virulent in the Highland districts. In another joint report addressed to Propaganda in August 1726, the original of which has been unfortunately lost, but of which an Italian translation, drawn up three months later, is preserved in the archives of the Congregation, the bishops give some details of the campaign carried on by the ministers against the Highland Catholics.[2] The progress of the Church in the north was opposed with the utmost vigour by the preachers, who organised bands of soldiers with the object of apprehending and throwing into prison the missionaries and their converts. The faithful,

The Church in the Highlands.

[1] See Appendix X.

[2] An English version is given in Appendix XI.

notwithstanding these trials, continued steadfast in the faith, supported by their bishops, who left nothing undone to console and encourage them. Both prelates, however, were now advanced in years, and were unable to prosecute with the same vigour as formerly the arduous duties of their office; while their want of acquaintance with the Gaelic tongue greatly hampered their ministrations in the Highlands. In order to remedy these evils, the bishops now brought forward a proposal for the division of Scotland into two vicariates, the Highland and the Lowland districts; recommending at the same time for the northern vicariate Mr Alexander Grant, who had publicly defended the bull *Unigenitus* in the Roman College with much applause, and had shown himself for the past seven years a zealous and successful missioner. The selection was approved by Propaganda in a congregation held on December 17, 1726, and was ratified by Pope Benedict XIII. on July 27 of the following year.[1]

Proposed division of Scotland into two vicariates-apostolic.

The new bishop-designate, who was residing in Rome, resolutely declined to accept the proposed dignity; and his reluctance could hardly be overcome by the most pressing representations from the vicar-apostolic. The latter, writing to

Alexander Grant, bishop-designate for the Highlands.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 455, 17 Decemb. 1726. *Rescrib.* "Ad mentem, mens est, quod supplicetur Sanctissimo juxta petita." "Die 27 Julii 1727, Sanctissimus annuit." Brady (*Episcopal Succession*, vol. iii. pp. 463, 464) gives the latter date as July 23.—Translator.

Rome in January 1728, mentions that he had employed all his powers of persuasion to induce Mr Grant to consent to the appointment.[1] At length he agreed to accept it, and set out for Scotland, whither the necessary brief was to be despatched after him. He only, however, got as far as Genoa,[2] where he fell sick, and from thenceforward nothing more is known of him.

His disappearance.

"Whether," says one account, "he retired into a monastery, or whether, as was thought more probable, he perished unknown in a public hospital, could never be ascertained."[3] After the lapse of more than two years, the bishops renewed their former application, proposing Hugh Macdonald for the Highland vicariate, and entreating his speedy appointment, on account of the great danger to religion in these parts, owing to the multiplication of ministers and heretical schools. The writers in the same letter relate that Catholics are in some districts compelled by force, and even with blows, to attend the Protestant service;[4] and complain bitterly of the crying need

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scritture riferite, Jan. 11, 1728.

[2] Or, according to another authority, Marseilles. Brady (*op. cit.*, p. 464), quotes a letter written at this time by Mr Grant to the Scotch agent in Rome, and adds that Propaganda sent 36 scudi to relieve his immediate wants, but received tidings of his death shortly afterwards.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 5.

[4] See Appendix XII. There is a story, well known in the Highlands, of one of the Macleans of Coll, who was himself an elder of the Kirk, and was reproved by the General Assembly for suffering his islanders to remain in the darkness of Popery. The laird ac-

there is of more missionaries, for whom, however, they find it impossible to provide even the bare means of subsistence. The report of the bishops was presented to Propaganda by Mgr. Fortiguerra, the secretary, on January 15, 1731: the proposals therein made were approved, and the nomination of Hugh Macdonald was duly made, with the promise of a grant of the necessary sacred vessels.[1] The new prelate was a son of the laird of Morar, in the West Highlands, and had been educated at the seminary of Scalan. He also studied for a time at Paris, previous to his appointment as Bishop of Diana *in partibus;* and in October 1731 he was consecrated at Edinburgh by Bishop Gordon, assisted by Bishop Wallace and a priest. It was on this occasion that the partition of the country was finally agreed on, the Highland vicariate to include the northern and western districts, together with the islands, while the southern parts were assigned to the Lowland vicariate.

Hugh Macdonald, first Highland vicar-apostolic.

cordingly posted himself on Sunday morning at a convenient spot, where two roads led respectively to kirk and chapel, and proceeded to knock down with his yellow cane any one whom he saw making his way to the latter. Hence Presbyterianism was known by the name of *Creidimh a bhata bhui*, the creed of the yellow stick! —Translator.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 6, 5 Jan. 1731. *Ibid.*, Scritture riferite II., 17 Sept. 1730. James III. wrote under this date to Pope Clement, to the effect that as Bishop Gordon "senecta et fractis pœne viribus, non animo se sed corpore imparem obeundis visitationibus et tolerandæ itinerum asperitati ultro agnoscat," he recommends to the Pope "Hugonem Macdonnel coadjutorem Ep^pi. partium Occidentalium Regni nostri."

The arrangement was sanctioned by a decree of Propaganda, dated January 7, 1732, Bishop Gordon having already in a pastoral letter informed the Highland Catholics of the appointment of their new bishop. The latter forwarded his first report to the Holy See on March 20, 1732;[1] and a year later the Congregation, in view of the increasing needs of the mission in Scotland, assigned to it an annual grant of five hundred scudi.[2]

Second Jacobite rising (1745).

It was during the vicariate of Bishop Macdonald that occurred the ill-fated rising of Charles Edward Stuart. In the rash hope of recovering the inheritance of his fathers, the prince landed, in July 1745, on the coast of Lorn. The bishop was on his return homewards from a conference of the vicars-apostolic at Edinburgh, when he heard the news of Charles's arrival in Scotland. He could not but disapprove of the expedition under the circumstances, for he knew that no sufficient preparations had been made to carry it to a successful issue. The prince showed no inclination to follow the advice of the bishop, who counselled him for the present to return to France;[3] and the latter could hardly do otherwise than associate himself with the unanimous

Bishop Macdonald and Charles Edward.

[1] See Appendix XIII.

[2] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 21, 7 Januar. 1732. "*Resp.* Annuerunt in omnibus." *Ibid.*, 1733 Acta, fol. 18.

[3] Geddes, *The Position of Scottish Catholics after Culloden*, p. 4. "The bishop candidly told him that the country was not prepared for his reception."

action of his people. The Catholic Highlanders rallied to a man round the prince, and carried him in triumph to Edinburgh, where he passed the winter in preparing for his campaign against England. Bishop Macdonald meanwhile solemnly blessed the royal standard at Glenfinnan, and appointed a number of his clergy to act as chaplains to the prince's army. Fortune, however, smiled but very briefly on Charles's hopes. One victory, indeed, he gained over the English troops at Prestonpans; but in the following April (1746) was fought the bloody battle of Culloden, which dashed to the ground for ever the claims of the Stuart princes to the throne of their ancestors. Charles himself with difficulty escaped capture, and made his way by circuitous and unfrequented mountain-roads to the coast.

Blessing of the royal standard.

Collapse of the Jacobites.

The hopes of the Stuarts having been thus finally annihilated, Benedict Henry, second son of James III., who had been born and educated in Rome, resolved to embrace the ecclesiastical state; and in a consistory held on July 3, 1747, he was named Cardinal-deacon by Benedict XIV.[1] Thus the last scion of his illustrious race ended his days in the service of the Church. "If we reflect," writes the biographer of the Counts of Albany, "more than half a century after the death of the last of the Stuarts, on the subsequent course of events, and the melancholy fate

Benedict Henry, Cardinal of York.

[1] Cardella, *Memorie Storiche*, vol. ix. p. 39.

of so many reigning houses, we cannot but see the hand of God in the lot of the last scion of a race which, more than any other royal line, had suffered under the blows of continual misfortune. After centuries of stormy political existence, the tranquil but sublime majesty of the Church threw over the closing days of the Stuarts a mild and gentle radiance, like that of the setting sun."[1]

Sufferings of the Scottish Catholics after Culloden.

The results of the battle of Culloden, in which, as has been truly observed, "the Hanoverian army and the Duke of Cumberland displayed a barbarity which recalled the memory of Sedgemoor and of the Bloody Assize,"[2] whatever they may have been for the Scottish people at large, were in the highest degree calamitous to the unfortunate Catholics. More than a thousand persons were transported to America, the Highland clans were decimated and dispersed, Catholic chapels destroyed, the seminary at Scalan plundered and burned, missals and vestments publicly committed to the flames, and priests and people persecuted with merciless rigour.[3] With the desire of mitigating these evils, Benedict XIV. urged Charles Emmanuel III., King of Sardinia, to intercede with the English Government, through his ambassador in London, on behalf of the distressed Catholics of Scotland.[4] The vigilance of the

[1] Von Reumont, *Die Gräfin von Albany*, vol. i. p. 10 *et seq.*

[2] Lecky, *Hist. of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 423.

[3] Geddes, *Scottish Catholics after Culloden*, pp. 8-12.

[4] Carutti, *Storia del Regno di Carlo Emmanuele III.* (1859), vol.

authorities was especially directed against Bishop Macdonald, whose intimate relations with the disaffected clans were of course well known. In order to escape capture, he thought it well to retire for a time to Paris, and it was not until 1749 that he returned to Scotland. Through the instrumentality of the sister of the laird of Leuchars he obtained a safe-conduct under the pseudonym of Mr Brown, and was thus enabled to continue to exercise his ministrations in the Highlands for several years. From a report which he sent to Propaganda, in conjunction with his episcopal brethren, in November 1755, we learn that he had been that year apprehended by the agents of the Government, and only released from prison on giving bail for a heavy sum.[1] Early in 1756, his trial took place before

Apprehension and trial of Bishop Macdonald.

ii. p. 58. "Nel 1746, dopo la discesa di Carlo Edoardo in Iscozia, il re, per intercessione del papa, introdusse uffici in favore dei cattolici."

In connection with Benedict XIV., we may record here the singular circumstances attending the conversion to Catholicism, about this time, of Andrew, a scion of the ducal house of Gordon. Born in Paris in 1717, he was educated in England, after his father's death, as a Protestant. In 1755 he visited Rome, and together with his attendants, sought an audience of Pope Benedict, with the sole object of turning into ridicule the ceremonial of reception. So deeply, however, was he impressed by the venerable aspect of the Pontiff, that when the latter inquired what he sought of him, he exclaimed: "Holy Father, I ask for a priest, to instruct me in the Catholic religion." He was received into the Church the same year, and brought up his children in the Catholic faith. He died in 1761. See Raess, *Die Convertiten seit der Reformation*, vol. x. p. 217.

[1] See Appendix XIV.

the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh; and on March 1, in punishment for his refusal to "purge himself of Popery," he was sentenced to banishment for life, under pain of death if he presumed to return to Scotland.[1] Probably, however, with the connivance of the authorities, this severe sentence was never enforced; and the bishop continued to discharge his pastoral functions in the Highlands until his death, which took place on March 12, 1773.

Vicariate of the Lowlands.

The Lowland vicariate was meanwhile administered by Bishop Gordon, to whom, after the death of Bishop Wallace, the Congregation of Propaganda appointed a coadjutor, in 1735,

Alexander Smith appointed coadjutor.

in the person of Alexander Smith. The new prelate, who was a native of Fochabers, in Morayshire, had entered the Scotch College in Paris in 1698, was ordained priest in 1712, and served on the mission until 1718, when he became procurator at Paris, an office which he held for twelve years. On September 19, 1735, he was named, on the petition of Bishop Gordon, Bishop of Misinopolis and coadjutor of the Lowland

[1] From a contemporary report of the trial (*Scots Magazine*, Feb. 1756) it appears that it was pleaded in defence that no mention was made of bishops in the penal statutes, but only of priests. The decision of the Court, however, was that "as bishops could create priests, they must be understood to be comprehended in the Act." It will be remembered that a precisely similar plea was urged on behalf of the Bishop of Lincoln, charged (1889) with violating the Act of Uniformity by the use of unauthorised ritual in the Communion Service.—TRANSLATOR.

district. He devoted considerable time and labour to the compilation of two catechisms, which at the instance of Cardinal Spinelli were approved by the Holy Office in Rome on March 20, 1750. Bishop Gordon and his coadjutor transmitted to Propaganda, in February 1743, a report as to the state of the Scottish mission.[1] The prelates, after referring at some length to the dissensions which had unfortunately sprung up among the clergy, and the measures which they had been compelled to take in consequence, report the death of two excellent missionaries named Drummond and Shand. Several conversions are said to have taken place; but on the whole there was a marked falling off in the religious fervour of the faithful. The bishops recall the extraordinary progress made by the Church in the past, and attribute the present remissness to the party spirit which prevailed among the clergy, diminishing the respect in which they were held, crippling their influence for good, and tending to the disedification of their flocks. The number of disaffected priests was, it is true, but a small one; but they, unhappily, left no means untried to discredit the zealous and devoted missionaries, whom they regarded as their opponents.

Dissensions among the clergy.

Decline of religious fervour.

On the death of Bishop Gordon in 1746, his coadjutor, the Bishop of Misinopolis, became

Death of Bishop Gordon (1746).

[1] See Appendix XV.

vicar-apostolic of the Lowland district; and we find him rendering an account of his charge in a report to Propaganda, dated December 13, 1747.[1] Bishop Smith, who was animated with a zeal for souls truly apostolic, and who, in consequence of the flight of the vicar of the Highlands to the Continent, was now the sole bishop in the country, had visited all the missionary stations in his district, and had been an eyewitness of the miseries occasioned by the unsuccessful rising of Charles Edward. Several priests were still in prison, or detained in ships of war. The bishop refers with sorrow to the internal divisions which disturb the mission, while at the same time he cannot refrain from expressing his opinion that Scotch affairs had not of late received the same attention as formerly at the hands of Propaganda.

Salutary measures proposed by Bishop Smith to Propaganda.

With a view to the removal of prevalent abuses, he begs the Congregation to strengthen the authority of the vicars-apostolic, and also, in consideration of his advanced age, to grant him the assistance of a coadjutor. Some clue to the irregularities to which the bishop refers in the above report is afforded us by the minutes of a session of Propaganda held on July 7, 1750. Complaint had been made by Bishop Smith of certain Jesuit fathers, who had shown themselves unwilling to comply with the regulations of the mission as regarded the administration of the

[1] See Appendix XVI.

sacraments; and the Congregation, in consequence, renewed the decree which had been issued for England in October 1695, and had been extended to Scotland some two years later, and which declared the regular missionaries subject to the vicars-apostolic in all that concerned the cure of souls.[1] The persecution of 1750 was also fraught with calamitous results to the Scottish mission. The most strenuous efforts were made, as Bishop Smith wrote to Rome in November of that year, to hunt out the priests and drag them before the tribunals, which as a rule sentenced them to perpetual banishment; as we find it recorded in the case of William Grant, a Benedictine, and several others. In consequence of this state of things many of the clergy remained in concealment, while others renounced their obedience to the vicar-apostolic, and refused to expose themselves to the risks of the missionary life. The real origin of these evils was of course to be sought in the violent opposition of the ministers, who were untiring in their efforts to stir up the authorities against the Catholic missionaries.[2] In a joint report sent to Propa-

The regular clergy and the bishops.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 188, 7 Julii 1750. "*Rescrib.*: Detur Decretum, 27 Aug. 1697.

[2] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 3, 19 Januar. 1751. The Secretary, Mgr. Lercari, reported as follows from information supplied by Bishop Grant: "1. Guglielmo Grant, Benedettino, fu esiliato pel solo motivo di essere egli prete Romano, condotto ai tribunali, perchè ricusò di sottoscrivere la formola di giuramento. . . . Fu pagato ai medesimi [*i.e.*, soldati] per la sola cattura del sopradetto

ganda by both the vicars-apostolic on November 1, 1753, we find very similar complaints.[1] The Jesuit Father Farquharson had been condemned to imprisonment, from which he was only liberated on giving heavy bail: the same conditions being exacted from another priest named Alexander Macdonald, who had been imprisoned under the mistaken impression that he was the vicar-apostolic of the Highlands. With a view of increasing the true sacerdotal spirit among the clergy, the bishops express their desire to adopt and observe the recently promulgated constitution of Benedict XIV. The superior of the Scottish Jesuits had signified his concurrence with this wish, and the prelates accordingly petitioned for the extension of the decree to Scotland.[2]

James Grant, coadjutor of the Lowland district.

In order to assist Bishop Smith in his laborious duties, a coadjutor was assigned to him in 1755 in the person of James Grant, Bishop of Sinita. Grant had been educated at the Scotch College

P. Grant la somma di 60 scudi. 2. Che i sacerdoti e missionarii o sono nascosti, o fuggiti altrove, e altri si ricusano di andare a quella missione, contradicendo apertamente al Vicario Apostolico. L'altro è che i soldati suddetti si vantano publicamente di estirpare in brevi dal regno tutti i missionarii, ed i ministri eretici non cessano di eccitare i magistri."

[1] See Appendix XVII.

[2] The Constitution was issued on May 13, 1753, and was entitled, "Regulæ observandæ in Anglicanis missionibus ab Apostolicis Vicariis, necnon a Sacerdotibus Missionariis sæcularibus et regularibus." It commences with the words *Apostolicum Ministerium*. The text is printed by Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. ii. pp. 496-521.

in Paris, and ordained priest in 1734, but before returning to Scotland he studied for a year in another Parisian seminary, which proved to be strongly tainted with Jansenism.[1] Shortly after the battle of Culloden Mr Grant was apprehended in one of the Western Isles and carried to Inverness, where he lay in prison for upwards of a year, being only released through the efforts of his brother in May 1747. At the instance of Bishop Smith, he was named, on February 21, 1755, Bishop of Sinita, and coadjutor of the Lowland district, and was consecrated by the same prelate in Edinburgh in the following November. The delay of nine months seems to have been due to the singularly diffident character of the bishop-elect, and to his extreme reluctance to undertake the responsible duties of the episcopate. Bishops Smith and Macdonald referred to the matter in their report to Propaganda, dated November

His imprisonment at Inverness.

[1] That the future bishop had no sympathy with such ideas is proved by the following anecdote (see Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, p. 11). He was shown on one occasion a portrait of the notorious Quesnel, inscribed as follows :—

> "Hic ille est quem plena Deo tot scripta coronant,
> Magnanimus veri vindex, morumque magister,
> In quem cæca suos dum vertit Roma furores
> Labi visa fides et totus palluit orbis."

Mr Grant, when asked his opinion of these verses, produced the following quatrain, as more appropriate, in his judgment, to the subject of the painting :—

> "Hic est plena malo qui dæmone scripta recudit,
> Agni in pelle lupus, Regique Deoque rebellis,
> In quem sacra vigil dum fulmina Roma vibravit,
> Vincit prisca fides, totusque amplectitur orbis."

1755, expressing at the same time their own satisfaction at the appointment, in which they recognised the finger of divine Providence.[1]

Party spirit among the Scottish clergy.

We have seen that the vicars-apostolic, in their letters addressed to Propaganda, made frequent allusion to the party spirit unhappily rife among the clergy at this time. The baleful influence of

Spread of Jansenistic ideas.

Jansenism had, in fact, doubtless owing to the intimate ecclesiastical connection between France and Scotland, made itself felt in the latter country at an early period. Bishop Nicolson, in the code of statutes which he drew up in 1700 for the guidance of the Scottish mission, had raised a warning voice against the errors of the *Bourignonites*, who, under the mask of piety, were seducing the faithful from Catholic truth.[2] And as far back as 1703 we find the nuncio at Paris informing Propaganda that a priest named James Innes, recently arrived from Scotland, reported the active dissemination in that country of the erroneous ideas of Antoinette Bourignon.[3]

Brief of Clement XI. *Magnitudinem paternæ.*

The brief addressed by Pope Clement XI., on August 17, 1709, to the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, leaves no room for doubt

[1] See the bishops' report in Appendix XIV.

[2] *Statuta Episcopi Nicolson*, Tit. i. No. 3. "Cupientes populi nobis commissi animos communire adversus novos Bourignonitarum errores hoc regno serpentes, hortamur omnes Presbyteros, ut sedulo caveant ne venenatis istis dogmatis [*sic*] Fideles inficiantur, aut ad fidem propensi fallaci pietatis specie a veritate suscipienda avertantur." See *ante*, p. 169, note.

[3] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 59, 27 Martii 1703.

that Jansenistic ideas had been widely spread in those islands.[1] The Pope refers to the bull *Vineæ Domini Sabaoth*, in which he had finally condemned this novel and dangerous teaching;[2] and points out that the children of the Church, with this document to guide them, should find it an easy task to avoid the pitfalls of error. The faithful are specially warned against the perusal of erroneous writings, as well as against intimacy with persons of suspected orthodoxy, and are exhorted to be particularly cautious in the matter of choosing their spiritual directors. The Pope, in conclusion, makes sorrowful mention of certain countries near to Britain, where not a few of the clergy, under pretence of upholding a stricter moral standard, are not afraid openly to attack the supreme authority of the See of St Peter.[3]

Formula drawn up by the

The extent to which the Jansenist errors had continued to be propagated in Scotland since the

[1] *Bullar. Propag.*, Append. ad tom. i. p. 384. "Clementis XI. Breve *Magnitudinem paternæ*, ad universos Christifideles in regnis Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ existentibus."

[2] "Edidimus paulo ante constitutionem Nostram incipientem 'Vineam Domini Sabaoth,' qua detectis erroribus quibus hujusmodi opiniones scatent, certam, absolutam, ac Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Nostroque atque Apostolicæ Sedis judicio conformem sentiendi in his quæstionibus normam fidelibus indiximus."

[3] "Ac sane dolendum est, non deesse in regionibus quæ Regnis istis finitimæ sunt, quosdem qui, quamvis catholicum nomen præferant, et clericali militiæ sint adscripti, immo etiam rigidioris moralis professores haberi velint, supremam tamen Cathedræ Sancti Petri auctoritatem palam impetere non vereantur."

vicars-apostolic (1733).

commencement of the century is indicated by the fact that the vicars-apostolic in 1733 thought it necessary to draw up a formula of religious belief, which all the clergy were required to subscribe. According to a report of Bishop Gordon, submitted to Propaganda on March 29, 1734, by the secretary, Mgr. Fortiguerra, a meeting of the clergy of the Highland district had been held in the previous June, at which special attention was called to the need of requiring the subscription, on oath, of a formulary accepting the famous constitution *Unigenitus*, and repudiating the errors of Jansen and Quesnel. Bishop Gordon, who was somewhat reluctant to take action without the express mandate of the Holy See, nevertheless yielded to the solicitations of the clergy, and drew up the required document, which was subscribed by all present.[1] A special incentive to him in deciding to take this step was doubtless the fact that rumours had already reached the ears of the Protestants regarding supposed dissensions among the Catholic missionaries. The bishop having submitted the formula

Subscribed by the Highland clergy.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 137, 29 Mart. 1734. "Un congresso col nuovo Vicario Apostolico di quelle provincie, . . . e che in tal occasione molti di quei sacerdoti fecero premurosa istanza ad ambedue i Prelati, che dovessero astringere con rigoroso precetto tutti i missionarii ad accettare e professare con giuramento la costituzione *Unigenitus*, ed altre costituzioni apostoliche, avendo dato motivo a quest' istanza un sospetto concepito da essi, che più d'uno di quel clero fosse aderente agl' errori di Quesnel e Giansenio e quelli di Bajo."

to the Congregation of Propaganda,[1] it received the approbation of that body, and was afterwards incorporated in the brief relating to Jansenism, issued by Clement XII. on September 10, 1736.[2] The latter document was published at the advice of a particular congregation of cardinals, specially summoned for the purpose, the matter being brought forward by Mgr. de Menti. Hitherto the vicars-apostolic had demanded subscription to the formula only when there was well-grounded suspicion of a leaning towards the errors imported from France; but the brief of Clement XII. directed the bishops to require every priest entering the mission, both secular and regular—members of the Society of Jesus not excepted—to subscribe the document, and this in presence of the vicar-apostolic and two witnesses. The formula in question, which covered the various points of erroneous doctrine which had been condemned since the time of Pius V., was moreover extended to include also a catechism of suspected Jansenistic tendencies, which had appeared in 1725;[3] and the Scottish vicars-apostolic and the whole of their clergy

Brief as to Jansenism (September 1736).

[1] Archiv. Propag., *loc. cit.* "Rescribatur ad Em^um^. Protectorem, qui suaviter moneat prædictum Vicarium de nova forma ab ipso confecta, quam citissime ad S. Congr^em^. transmittat."

[2] *Bullar. Propag.*, tom. i. p. 240.

[3] Catechism, or Abridgment of Christian Doctrine (1725). Instructions and prayers for children, with a Catechism for young children (1724). Catechism for those that are more advanced in years and knowledge (1724).

were, by order of Clement XII., directed to subscribe it in its new form.[1]

The Scotch College at Paris.

From Germany there came about this time very disquieting rumours as to the attitude of the Scotch College in Paris towards the poisonous doctrines which had so deeply infected the Church of France. Writing to Propaganda on January 2, 1736, Abbot Bernard Stuart of Ratisbon spoke of the "ravenous wolves in sheep's clothing," who, under the pretext of restoring pure doctrine and primitive discipline, were causing parties and divisions among Catholics, and who branded those of the clergy who had been educated in Rome or Germany as lazy, stupid, and given up to superstition.[2] The result of these representations was, that towards the end of 1736 the nuncio at Paris was commissioned by the Sacred Congregation to examine into and report on the state of the Scotch College in that city. The

Commission given to the French nuncio.

[1] *Bullar. Propag., loc. cit.* "Huic autem ampliori formulæ utrumque Vicarium Apostolicum, coadjutorem omnesque et singulos utriusque Vicariatus missionarios, qui pridem 1733 lubenti animo subscripsere, iterum in uberius suæ obedientiæ et religioni testimonium, atque ad majorem apud S. Congregationem promerendam laudem subscribere debere iidem Emi. Patres declararunt."

[2] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. rifer. ii., ann. 1738. "Intrarunt in Vineam Domini lupi rapaces sub ovinis pellibus, qui specie purioris doctrinæ et pristinæ disciplinæ paucos qui supersunt Catholicos in diversa studia et partes trahunt, atque ceteros, qui secum non sentiunt, tamquam inertes, stupidos et superstitionibus deditos spernunt et apud plebeos detrahunt, religiososque sacerdotes, immo et eos qui Romæ vel in Germania suam educationem habuerunt, ut tales respiciunt."

document transmitted to Rome by Niccolò Lercari, on March 4, 1737, in compliance with the above charge, and preserved in the Vatican archives among the acts of the French nunciature, depicts in somewhat gloomy colours the spirit which dominated the College, and throws, besides, considerable light on the then condition of the Church in Scotland.

Report of Lercari.

Some time before the issue of the bull *Unigenitus*, writes Lercari, a Jansenistic spirit had pervaded the College; and there was no evidence that it had decreased subsequent to that event. The superiors of the establishment had, on the contrary, boldly appealed in 1718 to the decision of a future council; and the French clergy had in consequence withdrawn the support which they had previously given to the College. Among those who favoured the erroneous doctrines were said to be Charles Whiteford, procurator of the institution, Thomas and George Innes, prefects of studies, and their uncle, the former almoner of King James II.[1]

The Scotch College accused of Jansenism.

Whiteford, Thomas and George Innes.

[1] Thomas Innes went on the Scotch mission in 1698, but in 1701 was appointed prefect of studies at the College in Paris, holding that office until 1727. He was succeeded by his nephew George. From 1729 until his death in 1744, Father Innes devoted himself to antiquarian research. His *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland* and *Civil and Ecclesiastic History*, reprinted by the Spalding Club, are still considered works of standard value. [See for a memoir of the author, and some remarks on his supposed Jansenistic leanings, *Historians of Scotland*, vol. viii.; preface to *Innes' Essay*, by G. Grub, pp. xiii-xxx.—Translator.]

All these were known to be Jansenists; and although Whiteford may possibly have recanted, yet his recantation was never published, albeit it was clearly his duty to make public satisfaction. And as neither George Innes, nor the actual prefect of studies, Alexander Gordon, had openly professed their adherence to the Papal constitution, their justificatory letters addressed to the Sacred Congregation could have little weight; more especially as they still continued to correspond with the Jansenists, and to maintain their former relations with Thomas and Louis Innes, who held complete control over the College. It was the firm belief of the Catholics of Paris that the Jansenistic spirit still prevailed in the establishment, as it had formerly done.

Charges against Thomas and Louis Innes.

Referring to Thomas Innes, the nuncio goes on to say that he had not only as prefect of the College taught unsound doctrine, but had also, in his capacity as confessor at St Barbe, induced the students to resort to him there for all their religious duties, in order to indoctrinate them with Jansenistic ideas. Equally reprehensible was the conduct of Louis Innes, through whose means the English and Scotch residents at St Germain-en-Laye had become infected with the same errors. No importance, the nuncio was assured on good authority, was to be attached to the fact that several students of suspected orthodoxy had been removed from the College—

a measure which had been devised merely to cloak the real state of affairs; and the same might be said of a report which had recently reached Rome, and which aimed at justifying the superiors of the institution, on the ground that they had opposed the appeal put forth by Cardinal de Noailles. Further, there was this to be said against them, that in order to evade the required subscription to the Roman formula, they had caused a number of the students to be ordained outside the diocese of Paris. The nuncio refers to the difficulty he had encountered in obtaining information on these matters, owing to the extremely incommunicative attitude of the authorities of the College: sufficient, however, had been said to show what was the spirit which animated them.

Alleged spread of Jansenism in Scotland.

Of the condition of the Church in Scotland the nuncio was not able to render a more favourable account. The seminary at Scalan, he reported, was infected with Jansenism, and several of the missionaries educated there had refused to subscribe the formulary. Bishop Gordon himself, as well as his coadjutor Bishop Smith, were not free from the reproach of having favoured erroneous teaching, the former prelate being charged, in particular, with having permitted the perusal of Jansenistic books. For safety's sake, Lercari recommended that the whole of the missionaries should be required to sign the

Recommendations made by Lercari.

formulary, no regard being paid to the objection raised by the Scottish Jansenists, that such a proceeding might bring the Catholics too prominently before the eyes of the Government. Bishop Macdonald, the northern vicar-apostolic, it should be added, is referred to in the report as conspicuous for his orthodoxy and zeal for true religion.[1]

Fresh brief issued by Clement XII. (1738).

The representations of the nuncio abundantly justified the Holy See in taking fresh means to assure itself of the sentiments of the clergy of Scotland. Clement XII. accordingly, on July 21, 1738, issued a brief in which, in precisely the same terms as the apostolic letter dated two years previously, he once more called on the Scottish missionaries to subscribe the formulary of July 8, 1733. To the list of condemned writings, as specified in the previous document, the Pope now caused to be added the notorious Catechism of Charles Joachim Colbert, Bishop of Montpellier; and the vicars-apostolic were at the same time directed to warn the faithful against reading heretical or suspected books, which they were to endeavour to suppress by every means in their power.[2]

[1] A translation of the nuncio's report will be found in Appendix XVIII.

[2] *Bullar. Propag.*, tom. ii. pp. 238-243. "Clementis XII. Breve *Supremum Apostolatus nostri munus*, ad Episcopos Nicopolitanum et Dianensem, Vicarios Apostolicos, necnon Episcopum Misinopolitanum, Nicopolitani coadjutorem, et missionarios in regno Scotiæ."

Although the archives of Propaganda do not, as far as we are aware, afford any information as to the result of the Papal brief, still, as there is no evidence to the contrary, it must be presumed that the Scottish missionaries complied with the desire of the Holy See. Serious complaints, nevertheless, continued during the next few years to reach Rome relative to the Scotch College in Paris, and also with regard to the spirit that pervaded the Carthusian monastery in that city, the successive priors of which, in accordance with the will of Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, had held for upwards of a century the superiorship of the College.[1] The Paris Charterhouse, it was said, while apparently reformed, had not in reality ceased to favour the Jansenistic tenets. In a memorial presented to the nuncio, the superiors of the Scotch College endeavoured to refute the aspersions cast upon them in the report of Lercari, referring particularly to the fact that Bishop Smith had always defended the constitution *Unigenitus*.[2] It does not appear, however, that these representations gained complete credence at the Holy See. At a session of Propaganda held in 1762, we find mention made of a statement submitted in 1737 or 1738, by a Scotch priest named Colin Campbell, to Cardinal Riviera, and con-

Renewed complaints against the Scotch College at Paris.

Reply by the superiors of the College.

[1] See *ante*, vol. iii. p. 328. The letters referred to in the text are contained in the Propaganda Archives, vol. ii., Scritture riferite di Scozia. They are written by Fathers Tyrie, Campbell, and Sempill.

[2] Archiv. Propag., Scrittur. riferit., vol. ii.

firmed on oath, to the effect that the Bishop of Nicopolis (Gordon) had appointed Thomas Innes as his spiritual adviser, although well aware that he had refused to accept the bull *Unigenitus*. Innes had, moreover, himself declared to Campbell that the bull in question was a contrivance of the Jesuits, that the five condemned propositions were not to be found in Jansen's writings, and that the Council of Trent was a mere academic assembly. The prelate who brought forward the matter considered himself justified in concluding that religious unity had been gravely compromised by the favour shown by Bishop Gordon to the "party of Paris" —*il partito Parigino*.[1] In confirmation of the above report, we may refer to a communication made to the Holy See by an Irish priest named Lawson,[2] who, writing to Propaganda from Paris, expressed himself in very similar terms, and on trustworthy authority, with regard to the Jansenistic spirit which prevailed in the Scotch College. Whatever may have been the truth of these representations, the Sacred Congregation does not appear to have taken any official cognisance of them. We learn, however, from the subsequent history of the Church in Scotland, that the clergy

Statements attributed to Thomas Innes.

[1] Archiv. Propag., Scrittur. riferit. ii., ann. 1762. "Si può prestar intera fede a quanto si contiene in detta dichiarazione, si per esser scritta da un Sacerdote di nascita illustre e virtù singolare, si ancora per esser stata confermata dal medesimo con giuramento."

[2] *Ibid.*, iii. "Alexander Lawson, presbyter Hibernus et convertendorum catechista."

Two ecclesiastical parties in Scotland.

continued for many years to be divided into two parties—the one including those of so-called liberal views, who had been trained in the College at Paris, and the other embracing the stricter Catholics, who professed to derive their principles directly from Rome. The most prominent by far of the *alumni* of the Scotch seminary at Rome during this period was George Hay, who during the latter half of the eighteenth century proved himself a strong and wise ruler of the Scottish Church, and to whose life and work we must now proceed to turn our attention.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SCOTLAND FROM 1760 TO 1800.

Disastrous as were the consequences to Scottish Catholics of the defeat of Charles Edward by Cumberland at Culloden, and unexampled as was the cruelty with which the victors treated the vanquished party, this calamity was nevertheless the indirect cause of an event which was to prove of incalculable importance for the spread of the Catholic faith in Scotland. This was the conversion of a young student of medicine at Edinburgh, who was destined to be honoured as one of the most zealous and learned prelates who ever ruled the Scottish Church.

Birth and education of George Hay.

George Hay was born of Protestant parents in August 1729, and after a good preliminary education was entered at the University of Edinburgh,[1]

[1] The author is mistaken in his statement that Hay was a student of Edinburgh University. He acquired his knowledge of medicine in the Edinburgh Medical School, which was just then rising into fame; but he was never actually affiliated to the University. See his life by Stothert (Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 15).—Translator.

with a view to acquiring a knowledge of medicine. At the time of the landing of Charles Edward on the coast of Scotland, Hay had already made considerable advance in his studies; and when, after his victory at Prestonpans, the prince sent to Edinburgh to procure surgical assistance for the wounded, the young student was among those who hurried to the battle-field, to put their professional skill and knowledge at the service of the sufferers. For four months Hay followed the prince's fortunes; but, prostrated at length by an illness brought on by fatigue and exposure, he was forced to return to Edinburgh. Hardly was the fate of Charles decided at Culloden, and the English in possession of the capital which he had triumphantly entered, escorted by his faithful Highlanders, but a short time before, than Hay was arrested on a charge of taking part in the rebellion, and conveyed a prisoner to London. His captivity there, however, was not a harsh one; it was rather a kind of honourable custody, which did not preclude him from receiving the visits of his friends. He chanced in this way to see a good deal of a Catholic bookseller named Neighan, living in Drury Lane; and it was through this worthy man that the gifted young student first acquired a knowledge of Catholic doctrine. Endowed as he was with a naturally acute and philosophic mind, Hay now found himself launched upon that course of inquiry which, for the honest

Hay at Prestonpans.

His imprisonment.

seeker after truth, can have but one result. The perusal of Gother's well-known work, "The Papist represented and misrepresented," did much to assist the process of his conversion; and on December 21, 1748, not long after his return to Scotland, he made his profession of the Catholic faith at the hands of Father John Seton, of the Society of Jesus. The young convert, who was only in his twentieth year, at once resumed his medical studies, and with such success that within a year he was admitted a member of the Royal Medical Society. An insuperable obstacle, however, prevented his obtaining his diploma of doctor of medicine; for by the penal laws no Catholic was eligible for such a distinction. Hay accepted the appointment of surgeon to a foreign vessel, and while in London, on his way abroad, formed the acquaintance of Bishop Challoner. The illustrious prelate and controversialist, recognising the unusual gifts of the young physician, inspired him with the idea of devoting himself to theological studies. It was by this means that Hay was enlightened as to his real vocation in life, and from this period dates the long and intimate friendship between these two distinguished churchmen, which was afterwards cemented by the pious agreement between them, that whichever of the two survived his friend should offer for his eternal repose the holy sacrifice of the altar thrice in every week.

His conversion.

His vocation to the priesthood.

Hay's engagement as ship's surgeon having ter-

minated on the arrival of his vessel at Marseilles, he made his way to Rome, where for nearly eight years he pursued in the Scotch College the usual course of philosophical and theological studies; with what zeal and success, was evidenced by the learned works which he subsequently gave to the world. On April 2, 1758, he was ordained priest by Cardinal Spinelli,[1] and quitted Rome a few days later.[2] Before entering on his new field of labour in Scotland, the young priest bound himself by vow never to accept any remuneration for any use which he might henceforth find occasion to make of his medical or surgical acquirements. The first mission assigned to him was the extensive district of Rathven;[3] soon, however, he was summoned to Preshome, where one of his ancestors had been minister two centuries before. Hay fulfilled with punctual diligence the duty incumbent on every student of the Scotch College, of trans-

Hay at the Scotch College, Rome.

His first missionary labours.

[1] See Cardella, *Memorie Storiche*, vol. viii. p. 273. Giuseppe Spinelli was a native of Naples. In 1725 he became nuncio at Brussels, and in that capacity effected the removal of Van Espen from the University of Louvain. He was raised to the cardinalate in 1735, and was appointed prefect of Propaganda and protector of Scotland.

[2] Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. ii. p. 461. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[3] Not *Ruthven*, as the author spells it. There is some confusion also about the following statement, that Hay was *bald nach Preshome berufen*. The extensive parish of St Peter's, Rathven, where he began his missionary labours, includes the greater part of the historic *Enzie* of Banff. Preshome, as the centre of this district, was naturally the residence of the missionary, and Hay lived there, with Bishop Grant, from the first.—Translator.

mitting to Propaganda periodical reports as to his missionary labours.[1] The numerous letters from him preserved in the archives of the Congregation, written some in classical Latin, and others in excellent Italian, attest the zeal of the priest, and at a later period the learning, prudence, and piety of the bishop. In the first letter which he addressed to Cardinal Spinelli, we find him giving touching expression to his feelings of intense thankfulness for the light of the Catholic faith which had been bestowed on him.[2] Hay's reputation as a preacher was already considerable ;[3] and such was the confidence placed in him by the two vicars-apostolic, that he was invited to take part in their common deliberations. Thus we find his signature appended to a report, written in Italian, and transmitted to Rome by the bishops on August 24, 1763 ; and it was doubtless by his hand that the document was drawn up.[4]

Growing reputation of Hay.

During the first portion of Hay's missionary career, the Lowland district continued under the

[1] In Bishop Hay's time, students were bound by oath to send these reports to Propaganda annually. The obligation was subsequently modified into a promise to write to the Congregation *quoties opus fuerit.*—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit. ii., 20 Octob. 1762. The letter is dated "all' imboccatura del fiume Spea nella Scozia."

[3] "Occasionally," quaintly remarks his biographer (Stothert, *apud* Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 56), "he resorted to the *percussio furoris* and the stamping of the right foot, but neither noisily nor violently; and he gesticulated a good deal with his hands, in the Italian manner."—TRANSLATOR.

[4] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit. ii., *ann.* 1763.

administration of Bishop Alexander Smith. A report of the year 1763, preserved among the Acts of Propaganda, describes this prelate as "full of zeal and the love of God"; and his coadjutor, James Grant, who succeeded to the vicariate on the death of Bishop Smith in 1766, is referred to in similar terms.[1] Towards the close of 1767, Bishop Grant, sensible of his failing powers, proposed to Propaganda the appointment of Hay as his coadjutor. The request was acceded to; and on Trinity Sunday, 1769, he received the episcopal consecration at Scalan. The usual certificates of the canonical oath and profession of faith were forwarded by Bishop Hay to the Sacred Congregation from Paris, whither he had gone on business connected with his office, on March 13, 1772.[2] The new prelate fixed his residence in Edinburgh,[3] while Bishop Grant found a congenial home for his declining years in the quiet town of Aberdeen, where there had been a considerable Catholic community ever since the Reformation.

Consecration of Bishop Hay, 1769.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit. ii., *ann.* 1763. "Mgr. Alessandro Smith, Vescovo Misinop., il quale è uomo pieno di zelo e di sommo amore di Dio. . . . Mgr. Giacomo Grant . . . è prelato ugualmente pio, che dotto, pieno di zelo per la salute delle anime." The date of Bishop Smith's death, we may note, was not 1766, as recorded by both Gordon and Brady, but August 21, 1767. See Stothert's *Life of Bishop Hay* (Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 57).

[2] *Ibid.*, iii., *ann.* 1772, 13 Martii, Parisiis Lutetiorum, "quo propter aliqua missionum Scotiæ negotia perveneram."

[3] He had been living there since the death of Bishop Smith (August 1767), when he was appointed procurator of the mission. —Translator.

Bishop Hay's religious labours.

The work done by Bishop Hay for religion in Scotland was undoubtedly a grand one. Endowed by nature with robust health and singular strength of character, a man of prayer and of true piety, while utterly without assumption, he braved for more than half a century the numberless perils and fatigues which, with our present means of communication, and the sweeping away of the penal statutes, are now wellnigh inconceivable, but which then, especially in the bleak north, were inseparably bound up with the episcopal office. Not long after his consecration, we find the good bishop coming forward with a memorial on behalf of the cruelly persecuted inhabitants of South Uist,[1] where the laird of Boisdale, himself an apostate Catholic, had had the hardihood to endeavour to force nearly two hundred families to abandon the faith of their fathers. His first move was to obtain the attendance of the children of Catholics at Protestant schools, where they received instruction from Protestant teachers in writing and other

Persecution of Catholics in Uist.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit. iii., *ann.* 1773. This now rare tract was entitled "Memorial for the suffering Catholicks in a violent Persecution for Religion, at present carried on in one of the Western Isles of Scotland." It is subscribed "Geo. of Daulis, Coadj. Edinburgh, 27 Nov. 1771," and concludes thus: "The above Memorial is taken from authentic Accounts sent from Uist, and especially from the Letters of B. Macdonald; and as their case is very deplorable, whilst their constancy and resolution, especially in such poor country people, is most admirable; and renews in these our days the Christian heroism of the Primitive Ages."

elementary subjects. It was said that scurrilous and even immoral sentences were set to the poor children to copy; and in the Lent of 1770 attempts were actually made to force flesh-meat into their mouths. The parents having, in consequence of these scandalous abuses, withdrawn their children from the schools, the laird assembled the whole of his tenants, and ordered them to sign a declaration renouncing their religion, or to be deprived of their holdings. The poor people, to a man, refused to comply with the demand, declaring their readiness rather to beg from door to door. Disconcerted by their firmness, the laird next offered to leave them unmolested, provided they would consent to their children being brought up in Protestantism; but he was met by the rejoinder that the souls of their little ones were as dear to them as their own. All efforts to pervert these faithful islanders thus proved fruitless: in order, however, to avert the evils that threatened them, the only available course appeared to be emigration.[1] The stirring appeal put forth by Bishop Hay was not without result; from all quarters subscriptions poured in, thus enabling him to defray the cost of transporting the poor emigrants to America. In a letter addressed to Propaganda on July 10, 1772, the

Steadfastness of the islanders.

[1] The pastor of these poor people, an Irish Dominican named Wynne, had some time before been forced, by the laird's threats of personal violence, to quit the island.—TRANSLATOR.

three bishops express their hope that this enforced exodus of Scottish Catholics may have at least one good result—the spread of the true faith in distant lands.[1]

Bishop Hay and the Douai College.

The visit of Bishop Hay to Paris in 1772, which has already been mentioned, was in connection with the endeavour he was making to reclaim the property and funds of the Scotch College at Douai, which had been confiscated by the French Government ten years before, as belonging to the Jesuits. The direction of the establishment had been, in fact, since its foundation, in the hands of the Society. One of the first rectors was Father Bonfrère, the well-known commentator on Holy Scripture;[2] and we find the same office held successively by Father Robe (who died in 1633) and Father Curle, to whose generosity, as we have already seen, the institution was so greatly indebted.[3] Frequent complaints were made from Scotland about this time, to the effect that efforts were being made to convert the College into an exclusively Jesuit seminary. The question between the vicars-apostolic and the

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scritt. riferit. iii. "Quæ quidem emigratio . . . uti in Domino speramus, religioni et fidelibus ubique profutura est."

[2] Dancoisne, *Établissements religieux Britanniques à Douai*, p. 85.

[3] His memory was preserved by the following inscription in the refectory of the College: "R. P. Hippolytus Curle, presbyter Societatis Jesu, ex patre Scoto Reginæ Mariæ Stuartæ a secretis, alterque ab ea Collegii Scotorum parens, obiit 21 Octobr. ann. 1638, ætatis suæ 40, relig. 20."

Society was submitted to the Holy See for decision; but no final settlement appears to have been arrived at.[1] The Government of Louis XV., however, recognised the justice of the claim advanced by Bishop Hay, and directed the restoration to the Scotch bishops of the property in question;[2] while royal letters-patent, dated February 1780, confirmed the College in possession of the property acquired previous to 1749.[3] After the departure of the Jesuit fathers, the rectorship was held by members of the secular clergy down to the epoch of the French Revolution, which proved fatal to the Scotch College, as to so many similar institutions. On June 5, 1790, Lord Robert Fitzgerald, the British Chargé d'Affaires, addressed a note to the French Government demanding protection for the Irish and Scotch Colleges in Paris. From a report issued a few months later, we learn that the British religious establishments in France numbered twenty-eight, with an estimated revenue of 329,000 livres. The National Assembly in the course of the same year (1790) confirmed to the College at Douai the grant of two thousand francs which had been

Scotch church property in France.

Douai under the Revolution.

[1] See Tierney, Dodd's *Church Hist. of Engl.*, vol. iv. pp. 122-128, notes.

[2] This is hardly correct. The Scotch property was intrusted to a French civil bureau, which defrayed out of it the education of a certain number of Scotch students at the College. See Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 94.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] Dancoisne, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

bestowed on it by the king. Three years later, however, its doors were closed, and it was transformed into a prison, where were confined a large number of priests and nobles obnoxious to the Government. Meanwhile the professors and students of the College were imprisoned at Izellez-Equerchin, and were subsequently compelled to quit France. The rector, Abbé Farquharson, a man of superior abilities and wide reputation,[1] alone remained at his post, and was for some time confined, together with the students of the English College, in the fortress of Doullens.[2] After the peace of 1815, Farquharson sent in a claim for indemnity from the French Government, amounting to nearly a million and a half of francs. Payment, however, was refused, on the ground that the British Colleges in France had held their property not as English, Irish, or Scottish subjects, but by virtue of letters-patent of the King of France.[3]

By means of repeated and earnest appeals to the generosity of English Catholics, Bishop Hay

[1] Forbes (*Edinburgh Review*, 1864, p. 201) describes him as "a man of elegant manners, and much respected by every one. . . . An accomplished scholar."

[2] Dancoisne, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[3] Forbes, *loc. cit.* It was widely believed at the time, but on no good authority, that the compensation-money had been actually paid to the British Government, who, in their wholesome dread of encouraging Popery, expended the whole sum in building the Brighton Pavilion for the Regent, afterwards George IV.—TRANSLATOR.

succeeded in obtaining a considerable sum towards the relief of his impoverished mission; and in the last year of the eighteenth century he transferred the seminary from Scalan, where it had existed for more than three-quarters of a century, to a more commodious and convenient site at Aquhorties, in Aberdeenshire. Nor was the bishop unknown in the field of literary labour. It was long his wish to provide for the increasing demand for an improved Catholic translation of the Bible; and in 1790 he took steps, in concert with Bishop Geddes, for the undertaking of this important work, which was to be based on a careful study of the Greek and Vulgate versions, the existing English translations, and the authorised Italian version of Martini. Father Robertson, a Benedictine from Ratisbon, was to act as editor. The first publication of the new edition took place in 1796.[1] More than twenty years before, Bishop Hay had printed a series of letters, entitled "Usury and Interest," in rejoinder to an Irish Dominican named Hope, who, in some essays contributed to the Edinburgh *Weekly Magazine*, had maintained, under the pseudonym of John Simple, the absolute unlawfulness of receiving

Opening of a new seminary in Scotland.

New edition of the Bible.

Bishop Hay as an author. Letters on Usury.

[1] It was not, however, a new translation, as was originally intended, and as appears to be implied in the text. Bishop Hay showed himself so averse to any alteration in the received English version, that it was finally resolved, with the co-operation of the English vicars-apostolic, to issue merely a reprint of Challoner's Bible. See Gordon, *op. cit.*, vol. iv. pp. 388, 389.—TRANSLATOR.

interest on loans. The bishop opposed the views put forward by Father Hope, clearly proving the equity of demanding a moderate recompense for money lent, more especially in consideration of the changes which had in course of time taken place in the economic life of nations. The fact, as he argued, of all commercial transactions being carried on by means of money, and not, as formerly, in kind, as well as the cessation of gain, the supervening loss, or the risk incurred by the loan of money, amply warranted the lender in exacting interest from the borrower. The bishop's letters appeared in a collected form in London in 1774, dedicated to the Duke of Buccleuch.[1]

The 'Scripture Doctrine of Miracles.'

The name of Bishop Hay as an author, however, was best known through his work, in two volumes, on the 'Scripture Doctrine of Miracles,' which was published in 1776, and aroused considerable attention in England, as well as in Scotland. The occasion of this publication was a controversy which had arisen in 1770 between the Jesuit Father Duguid and an Episcopalian minister named Abernethy, on the subject of miracles. Bishop Hay at once conceived the idea of contributing to the discussion, but it was not until nearly six years later that his work made its appearance. In sixteen chapters, the Catholic

[1] "Letters on Usury and Interest; showing the advantage of Loans for the support of Trade and Commerce." London, printed by J. P. Coghlan, 1774.

teaching as to miracles is treated dogmatically and apologetically, and proof is brought that God's hand is not shortened since the days of the Apostles, and that it is consequently impossible, without manifest inconsistency, to reject what are known as ecclesiastical miracles. Against Hume, the leading representative of the Anglo-Scottish school of sceptics, and opponent of the principle of causality, who had made the doctrine of miracles the chief object of his attacks, Hay brought to bear the teaching of St Thomas in proof of the possibility and actuality of the miraculous. His arguments were, moreover, reinforced by his own exceptional knowledge of natural science, of which he makes skilful use throughout the work. The second volume closes with an appendix, containing a dialogue between Orthodoxus and Philaretes on the doctrine of transubstantiation.[1] Mr Abernethy published a reply to the bishop, who in turn rejoined by printing, early in 1777, some "Explanatory Remarks" on the same subject. The 'Scripture Doctrine of Miracles' was very favourably received in England, Rome, and Spain, and the sale of the work proved successful. Its

[1] The dialogue was not altogether an imaginary one. The original disputants were a master-baker and a master-shoemaker, both members of Mr Abernethy's congregation, who were induced to inquire into the doctrines of the Catholic religion, and whom Bishop Hay's masterly exposition of those doctrines finally decided to submit to the Catholic Church.—TRANSLATOR.

merits were freely recognised even by the Protestant critics of the day.[1]

The 'Sincere Christian,' &c.

More, perhaps, than in any of his other writings, Bishop Hay showed himself as a theologian at once popular and learned, in the exposition which he published of the complete cycle of Christian doctrine, and of which we may instance the sections treating of the Church as especially luminous and profound.[2] As was to be expected from a writer so clear-sighted and so pious, he lays down unhesitatingly the traditional teaching of theologians as to the official infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, assigning to that doctrine, if not the full weight of dogmatic authority, yet all the force due to what he rightly declares to be the *sententia communis* of the faithful. Many thousand copies were printed of this admirable work, and it has continued, down to our own day, to enjoy the reputation which it deserves.

Suppression of the Society of Jesus, 1773.

The earlier years of Bishop Hay's vicariate were signalised by the suppression of the Society of Jesus by Clement XIV., in consequence of which

[1] "Our Church is here boldly challenged to the field by no contemptible adversary. With respect to the general execution of this Work, it must be allowed that the plan is happily conducted, the topics judiciously and artfully disposed, and the Reasoning, though not invincible, specious and dangerous. . . . The style is expressive and clear."—*Scots Magazine*, vol. xxxviii. (1776) p. 43.

A reprint of the work, edited by the late Archbishop Strain, was published in Edinburgh in 1872.

[2] Hay, *The Sincere Christian: The Devout Christian: The Pious Christian.* 5 vols.

event the Jesuit Fathers ceased to direct the Scotch College in Rome, which was placed under a commission of five cardinals. A notification of the change was made to Bishop Grant by Cardinal Castelli on August 25, 1773, with the promise that he should shortly receive from the nuncio at Brussels a copy of the brief of suppression. Together with the brief, instructions were transmitted to the vicars-apostolic respecting the future employment of members of the Society. The bishops were permitted by Propaganda to let them continue to serve on the mission, on their giving an undertaking to submit entirely to the episcopal authority; and each of the Fathers was as soon as possible to be notified accordingly. All the Jesuits at this time stationed in Scotland, twelve in number, at once expressed their readiness to comply with the orders of the Holy See.[1] Shortly afterwards, however, some temporary misunderstanding appears to have arisen between the vicars-apostolic and the Scotch ex-Jesuits, with regard to the administration of the property formerly belonging to the Society. In a letter to Cardinal Castelli, dated June 15, 1774, Bishop Hay, in concert with his colleagues, went fully into the matter, petitioning that the whole of the property heretofore admin-

The Scotch bishops and the Jesuits.

[1] Gordon (*Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 119) prints the formula of submission, by their subscription to which the ex-Jesuits incorporated themselves with the secular missionary clergy.

istered by the Scotch Jesuits might now be placed under the bishops, on the ground that it had originally been bestowed in the first place for the promotion of the faith in Scotland, and secondly, for the support of the Jesuit missionaries; and that the second of these two objects was now no longer capable of attainment.[1]

Number of Catholics in Scotland, 1779.

The act of Pope Clement, however important its results to the Church at large, brought but little change to the Catholics of Scotland, where the number of the faithful had greatly diminished since the rising of Charles Edward; and the priests in the country were probably sufficiently numerous for all the pastoral duties required of them. At the General Assembly of 1779, the total number of Catholics was estimated by Dr Robertson at less than 20,000, of whom, according to the same authority, not more than twenty possessed land worth a hundred a-year, while in the commercial world there was not one of any eminence.[2] The statistics, however, forwarded to Rome by Bishop Hay and his colleagues place the number of communicants in the Scottish

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scritture riferit. iii. "Bona omnia supradicta a benefactoribus duplici fine donari manifestum est, primario quidem ad promovendam fidem in patria nostra, secundario autem, ut missionarii Scoti Societatis Jesu inde alerentur. Cum igitur hæc secundaria intentio amplius impleri nequeat, consequens est, ut illi qui ad primariam donatorum intentionem exequendam laborant, plenum jus atque titulum, ut iisdem bonis alantur, acquirant."

[2] *Scots Magazine*, vol. xli. (1779) pp. 413, 414.

Mission at about 17,000, which would raise the total number of Catholics to some 30,000 souls.

Legal status of Scottish Catholics.

The best idea, perhaps, of the social and political status of this comparatively insignificant body, at the period of which we are now treating, is afforded by a glance at the various legal enactments affecting them, as summarised in the *Statute Law abridged* of Lord Kames. The following is a complete abstract of the statutes in question.

Summary of the penal statutes.

All professors of the Catholic religion were obliged to quit the country, unless they would subscribe the Confession of Faith. The purchase or dissemination of Catholic books was punishable with banishment and confiscation of personal property. Jesuits and seminary priests were to be pursued, apprehended, and punished with death and confiscation. The harbouring or entertainment of them was likewise punishable with confiscation. Those guilty of hearing mass, of refusing to attend the Protestant service, or of endeavouring to pervert any of his Majesty's subjects, either by reasoning or by books, were liable to the same penalty. Catholic books were to be searched out and destroyed by the magistrates, and importers of such books to be committed to prison during the king's pleasure. The presbyteries were authorised to summon before them "all Papists, and those suspected of Papistry," and to require them to make satis-

Summary of the penal statutes.

faction to the Kirk: failing which they were to be denounced to the Privy Council, and their property escheated to the Crown; and all persons harbouring them were likewise liable to confiscation. Any one suspected of being a Jesuit, priest, or "trafficking Papist," and convicted of changing his name or surname, incurred sentence of perpetual banishment, under pain of death if he returned to Scotland; and a similar penalty was incurred by mere presence at any meeting "where there is altar, mass-book, vestments, Popish images, or other Popish trinkets." Heavy fines were imposed on noblemen or others sending their sons to be educated in foreign seminaries; and parents whose children became Catholics abroad had to find caution that they would send them no pecuniary assistance, except for the purpose of bringing them back to Scotland. Children under the care of Catholic parents or guardians were to be taken from them, and intrusted to some "well-affected and religious friend," the means for their support and education being provided out of the property of their parents. Severe penalties were incurred for the crime of converting to the Catholic faith any of his Majesty's Protestant subjects; and a Protestant servant becoming a Catholic was punished as an apostate, and was forbidden to take a situation in any Catholic family. Catholics were incapable of acquiring real property, either by purchase or by deed of gift made in

Summary of the penal statutes.

their favour, or in trust on their behalf, such deeds being by law absolutely null and void. They were also incapable, after the age of fifteen, of inheriting estates: if the heir, on attaining that age, refused to renounce his faith, his right of succession lapsed, passing to the nearest Protestant heir. If the latter declined to avail himself of it, it passed to the next Protestant after him, and so on until, as worded in the statute, the right was "effectually established" in the Protestant line. All dispositions, donations, and legacies in favour of "cloisters, or other Popish societies," were *ipso facto* null and void; nor were Catholics permitted to make any disposition of their property in prejudice of their heirs-apparent. A Protestant turning Catholic forfeited his whole heritable estate to his nearest Protestant heir. No Catholic could be king or queen of the realm, "or bear any office whatever therein"; and not only Catholics, but persons marrying Catholics, were incapable of ever succeeding to the crown. Thy could be neither governors, schoolmasters, guardians, nor factors, a fine of a thousand merks being imposed on those who employed them in such capacities. They were forbidden to teach "any art, science, or exercise of any sort," under a penalty of five hundred merks. Protestants were prohibited from employing Catholic servants, under the same penalty; and the informer in such cases

Summary of the penal statutes.

was entitled to the amount of the fine as his reward.[1] Such was the Draconian code of laws, of which one of the principal objects was, as has been truly remarked, to reduce the Catholic portion of the community to a condition of brutal ignorance;[2] or, in the words of Burke, "to render men patient under such a deprivation of all the rights of human nature, everything which would give them a knowledge or feeling of those rights was forbidden."[3]

Efforts of Bishop Hay for Catholic relief.

By the operation of these iniquitous statutes, the adherents of the ancient faith in Scotland had been gradually reduced to a condition little better than that of slaves and outlaws. The amelioration of this state of affairs was an object well fitted to enlist the mental vigour and wide sympathies of Bishop Hay; and the fact that a relief bill in favour of the English Catholics was at this time passing through Parliament, served to encourage him in his efforts. The general tone of public opinion on the question, as reported by the bishops to Propaganda in August 1777,[4] also seemed to

[1] The substance of the above abstract is cited from Lord Kames's *Statute Law abridged* by a writer in the *Scots Magazine*, vol. xl. (1778) pp. 513-517.

[2] Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 285.

[3] Burke, *Letter to a Peer of Ireland on the Penal Laws*, *apud* Lecky, *loc. cit.*

[4] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scritture riferit. iii. "Summa cum voluptate Eminentiæ Vestræ et S. Congregationi notum facimus, omnia ab aliquot annis hic pacatiora esse, et nos insolita quadam libertate in hoc regno frui incipere. Cujus duo haud exigui ponderis

warrant them in entertaining brighter hopes for the future. At this juncture occurred events which, while apparently calculated to throw back the prospects of Catholic emancipation, in reality prepared the way for its concession. An agitation suddenly sprang up in Scotland, with reference to the proposed measures of Catholic relief, which led to the wildest outbursts of popular fanaticism, and afterwards spread into England through the baneful instrumentality of Lord George Gordon. Pamphlets of the most outrageous character, recalling the fiercest period of the sixteenth century, were scattered broadcast through the country. Pictorial representations of the Man of Sin, the Beast of the Apocalypse, the Scarlet Woman of Babylon, and the Lord Advocate holding in his hand the obnoxious bill, were circulated by thousands, in order to inflame the passions of the populace. The mere rumour that it was in contemplation to petition the Government for some relaxation in the unjust and oppressive penal laws against Catholics, proved sufficient to rouse a

Outbreak of anti-Catholic feeling in Scotland.

argumenta hæc sunt: nempe quod ab ipso publico regimine facultas quædam concessa est, extruendi sacellum in provincia Perthensi unum, in civitate Edinburgensi alterum. In civitate Edinburgensi ab annis Catholicorum numerus ita auctus fuerat, tum per conversos ad fidem, tum per confluentes illuc ex variis regni partibus fideles, ut locus cultui divino destinatus illos capere non posset." The Bishop and cathedral chapter of Ratisbon, as well as the Scotch Benedictine Abbey there, had contributed towards the erection of the new chapel in Edinburgh, and had received letters of thanks from Propaganda for their generosity.

storm of Puritan opposition. The General Assembly of 1778 had already protested in advance against the disastrous consequences certain, in their opinion, to result from any measure of Catholic relief. A violent diatribe on the subject was delivered by Dr Gillies, a Glasgow minister, who concluded his harangue by proposing a special committee to watch over Protestant interests, and give due warning of the obnoxious bill being brought before Parliament.[1] In October 1778, a few months after the meeting of the Assembly, the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr appointed a general fast-day within their bounds, in view of the "awful signs of divine displeasure which are visibly displayed at this time, particularly the encouragement given to and the growth of Popery." "The astonishing progress," it was further declared, "of this detestable, cruel, and unjust superstition, is so much the more alarming, as it appears not only in remote and uncultivated corners, but in the most populous and improved parts of the land." [2]

Riots in Glasgow,

The spark thus let fall was not long, as might have been foreseen, in bursting into flame. On the Sunday following the meeting of the Synod

[1] It should be added for the credit of the good sense of the Assembly, that Dr Gillies's motion, "after a debate of several hours," was rejected by a majority of 96 votes, only 24 members supporting it. See *Scots Magazine*, vol. xl. (1778) p. 270.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] *Scots Magazine*, vol. xl. (1778) pp. 565, 566.

to which we have just referred, an excited mob gathered round a private house in Glasgow, where it was understood that the Catholic service was being celebrated. The poor people, as they emerged from their humble place of worship, were hooted and pelted with stones and dirt: the rabble broke all the windows, took the doors off their hinges, and rifled the house of its contents, "breathing blood and slaughter," as an eyewitness narrates, "to all Papists, and in every respect profaning the Lord's Day in a grosser manner than I ever knew done in Britain."[1] The Glasgow Catholics were thus deprived of their only chapel; but by the kindness of Mr Bagnall, an English resident in the town,[2] they were permitted to assemble for divine service in his house. But the anti-Popish zeal of the populace was not yet satisfied. On February 9, 1779, a fresh attack on the Catholics of Glasgow was organised by the association known as "Friends to Protestantism," and Mr Bagnall's residence and adjacent warehouses were deliberately set on fire, and burned to the ground.[3] Edinburgh had been the scene of similar outrages a few days before. and in Edinburgh.

[1] *Scots Magazine*, vol. xl. (1778) p. 685.

[2] Mr Bagnall had introduced the manufacture of Staffordshire pottery into Glasgow, and he and a French gentleman who had resided for some time in the town as a thread-maker were specially obnoxious to the fanatical party. See Stothert's *Life of Bishop Hay* (*Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 154).—Translator.

[3] *Scots Magazine*, vol. xli. (1779) p. 108.

"Men and brethren," thus ran a circular, signed "A Protestant," and industriously circulated throughout the city during the previous week—"Whoever shall find this letter, will take as a warning to meet at Leith Wynd, on Wednesday next in the evening, to pull down that pillar of Popery lately erected there."[1] "We had received," wrote Bishop Hay to Propaganda on February 12, "the promise of the ministry and of other influential persons, that the same indulgence [*i.e.*, a relief bill] should be extended to Scotland in the first session of Parliament. No sooner did this become publicly known than the fanatic party among the preachers commenced to excite the alarm of the people. . . . No Catholic could appear abroad without being pointed at, and saluted with these or similar cries: 'See the Papist, the black Papist! shoot him, kill him!'"

Destruction of Bishop Hay's house.

On the appointed day, Wednesday, February 2, the storm burst, and an organised attack was directed against the recently erected chapel-house in Chalmers' Close. "So thickly rained the stones from all quarters," writes Bishop Hay, "that they [Fathers Cameron and Mathison] could make no resistance, and only escaped with the greatest difficulty." By five o'clock the mob had forced their way, by dint of blows with stones and hammers, into the house, which was instantly wrecked and then set on

[1] *Scots Magazine*, vol. xli. (1779) p. 107.

fire.[1] It was completely destroyed, and a number of other houses belonging to Catholics were at the same time attacked and plundered. During the whole of these proceedings the city authorities behaved with disgraceful supineness. They had neglected to take the least precautionary measures against the expected riot, and on its breaking out they lacked either the courage or the will to suppress it. "I have addressed to the court," concludes Hay, "an exact report of the whole affair, with a demand for redress and protection."[2] The congregation of Propaganda granted to the bishop

[1] Bishop Hay, says his biographer (*Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 160), arrived in Edinburgh at the very time when the flames had reached their height, and observing the unusual crowd, asked an old woman what it meant. "O sir," was the reply, "we are burning the Popish chapel, and we only wish we had the bishop to throw into the fire."—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit. iii. Relazione di una persecuzione, che al presente si eseguisce in Scozia contro i Cattolici Romani, mandata da Mgr. Giorgio Hay, Vescovo Daulen., Vic. Aplico. in detto Regno. Edinborgo, 12 Feb. 1779. "Noi avevamo la promessa dal ministero e da altre persone potenti, che la medesima indulgenza si sarebbe stesa alla Scozia nella prima sessione del Parlamento. Sapendosi ciò pubblicamente, il partito dei Fanatici tra i ministri ecclesiastici immediatamente cominciò ad allarmare il popolo. . . . Nessun cattolico Romano poteva comparire senza esser segnato à dito, e senza esser ricevuto con questi o simili termini: Ecco un Papista, un nero Papista! tiragli, amazzalo! . . . I sassi piovevano dentro così spesse da tutte le parti, che non potettero più resistere, e con moltissime difficoltà ne uscirono. . . . Verso le cinque la canaglia cominciò ad assalire la posta esteriore con sassi e martelli con tale violenza, che tutti coloro che erano dentro furono contenti di sacrificare la loro roba. . . . I magistrati si portarono in una maniera assai vergognosa in un' affare di tanta importanza; non presero precauzione veruna per prevenire il tumulto, e mancò loro il coraggio o la volontà per sedarlo."

the sum of a hundred scudi, in consideration of the loss which he had sustained.[1]

Principal Robertson and the "No Popery" cry.

While the wave of popular excitement ran thus high in Scotland, men were still to be found who, amid the unmeasured invectives and attacks which assailed the Catholics on every side, preserved unimpaired their sense of right and of justice. Among those who, by the support they gave to the proposed repeal of the penal statutes, drew down upon themselves the wrath of the ultra-Protestants, was Principal Robertson, whose speech at the General Assembly of 1779 has already been referred to. "My character as a man, as a citizen, and as a minister of the Gospel," he exclaimed on the same occasion, "has been delineated in the most odious colours: I have been represented as a pensioner of the Pope, as an agent for Rome, as a seducer of my brethren to Popery, as the tool of a king and ministry bent on overturning the Protestant religion. In pamphlets, in newspapers, and hand-bills, I have been held out to an enraged mob, as the victim who deserved to be next sacrificed, after they had satiated their vengeance on a Popish bishop. . . . For several weeks hardly a day passed on which I did not receive incendiary letters, several of them signed by *Lovers of truth*, and *Friends to the Protestant Religion*. It was in the name of Jesus I was warned that my death was resolved,

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Acta, *ann.* 1779.

and the instruments prepared for cutting short my days. May God forgive the men who have disseminated such principles." [1]

Bishop Hay's advice to the Catholics.

Meanwhile, on the Catholic side, Bishop Hay continued to support with unfailing courage the cause of his persecuted co-religionists. In February 1779 he addressed to his flock a touching pastoral letter, whose terms testify at once to his personal piety and absence of all resentment towards his antagonists, and to the firm confidence in God and unshaken sense of right which ever distinguished him. "We think it our duty," he wrote, "to administer to you both advice and consolation, as the circumstances permit and the occasion seems to require. . . . Though we cannot help being deeply afflicted for the sufferings of our dear people and for the interruption of the exercises of our holy religion, yet, confiding in the arm of the Most High, we hope for a speedy relief from His infinite goodness. We therefore earnestly beseech you all, not to be discouraged under the afflicting hand of God, but to put your trust in His all-powerful goodness, who when He is angry remembers mercy, and when He chastises us as children for our sins, intends at the same time our greater advancement in virtue; let us not fail to co-operate with His fatherly views, but remember that the time of suffering is the

[1] *Scots Magazine*, vol. xli. (1779) pp. 412, 413.

time of trial—the showing our fidelity to God and our sincerity in His service. . . . Above all things, we enjoin you not to allow the smallest resentment to enter your hearts against those who injure us: remember they are only the instruments in the hands of God, who, like a tender father, chastises us His children by their means, but who could not touch a hair of our heads except in as far as they are permitted by Him. In this view, let us have all compassion towards them, and pity their mistaken zeal, which makes them think that by persecuting us they do God a service. Let us imitate the example which our Lord gives us on the cross, and pray for them in His words, 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.'"

Negotiations for Catholic relief.

The publication of Bishop Hay's pastoral, which appeared in the *Scots Magazine* for February 1779, and was also printed in London, created a very good impression in all quarters. Desiring to take advantage of this favourable sentiment, the bishop visited London, and laid before King George III. a loyal address from the Scottish Catholics, which was graciously received. At the same time he entered into negotiations with some of the principal Ministers, in reference to the Catholic relief bill which it was hoped shortly to submit to Parliament. Lords George Germain and Weymouth were among those who

espoused the cause, and pledged themselves to do their best to ensure its success; while Lord Linton, a nobleman of much influence, interested himself warmly in a plan which was at that time entertained by many Scottish Catholics—namely, a scheme of emigration on a large scale. The Spanish ambassador, among others, promised the co-operation of his Government; but the project, which would have done incalculable injury to the cause of Catholicism in Scotland, was soon afterwards abandoned.

Bishop Hay's Memorial.

An additional motive was thus supplied to Bishop Hay to continue his unremitting efforts to secure the success of the plan which alone could restore the Scottish Catholics to their natural rights. A "Memorial in behalf of the Roman Catholics of Edinburgh and Glasgow, containing a full account of their sufferings, and of the means taken to excite the mob against them," was drawn up by the bishop, and circulated among the members of the legislature; and a petition, based on the facts set forth in the Memorial, and signed by Hay and Lord Linton, was presented by the latter to the king, who referred it to the consideration of Parliament.[1] The Catholics of Scotland complained in the petition of the treatment they had recently received, and asked from Parliament compensation for their losses, and the enactment

Petition to the king.

[1] *Scots Magazine*, vol. xli. (1779) p. 131.

of such measures as would prevent similar excesses for the future. They gave emphatic expression to their sentiments of loyalty and devotion towards their country, for which they were ready, in case of need, to sacrifice their lives and fortunes; and they ventured to expect in return the protection of the state in the exercise of their religion. The great and serious injury done to them in the late popular risings demanded due compensation, which they earnestly prayed the Government to grant them. Three days before this petition was submitted to Parliament, Mr Wilkes, the member for Middlesex, had called the attention of the House of Commons to the proposed relief bill for Scotland, and had asked on what ground the concessions which had been granted to the English Catholics were still refused to their Scottish co-religionists. The Lord Advocate endeavoured to excuse the delay which had taken place, on the ground of the inflamed state of public opinion in Scotland on the question, and the fear of further tumults if the bill were persevered with; to which Wilkes replied in terms of crushing sarcasm, declaring that the action of the Government had practically subjected the proceedings of the British Parliament to the control of an Edinburgh mob. On March 18, 1779, the petition of the Scottish Catholics was brought before Parliament by the great orator in whom the wronged and oppressed ever found their warmest

Wilkes and the Scottish Catholics.

champion. In glowing and eloquent terms, Edmund Burke asserted the just claim of the petitioners to the same advantages which had been bestowed on the Catholics of England, and depicted in the most vivid colours the brutal bigotry of the party of fanatics, who had incited the mob against peaceful and law-abiding subjects. He concluded by reading from a small pamphlet an abstract of the various penal laws relating to Scotland, and challenging any member of the House to rise and advocate their enforcement. Notwithstanding the eloquent appeal of Mr Burke, the motion to consider the petition in a committee of the whole House was not supported by the Government, owing to the strong opposition of Lord George Gordon and other fanatical Protestants; and the matter was consequently allowed to drop.[1] The Edinburgh Catholics, however, subsequently received from the magistrates the sum of sixteen hundred pounds in compensation for the losses they had sustained;[2] and a payment was made to Mr Bagnall, on the same account, by the municipal authorities of Glasgow.

Speech of Edmund Burke in the Commons.

Compensation to the Catholics.

In the following year, the general feeling which prevailed against any measure of relief in favour of the Scottish Catholics, was still further accentuated by the riotous excesses associated with the

Gordon Riots, 1780.

[1] *Scots Magazine*, vol. xli. (1779) pp. 131-135.

[2] The amount was confessedly inadequate to repair the damage done in the riots. Bishop Hay estimated his personal loss at upwards of £2500.—Translator.

name of Lord George Gordon, whose character has been summed up by an able writer as a compound of fanaticism, vanity, and ambition.[1] On May 29, 1780, the Protestant Association assembled in the Coachmakers' Hall in London, under the presidency of Lord George, who read to the meeting a brief addressed by the Pope to the English Catholics, argued therefrom the alarming progress of Popery in the country, and called on the members to unite in a monster petition to Parliament on the subject. Four days later some 20,000 men marched in procession to Westminster, and surrounded the Houses of Parliament, carrying with them a petition said to have been signed by 120,000 persons. Many members of both Houses were seized and roughly handled. The Archbishop of York was grossly insulted; the President of the Council was pulled from his coach and his wig torn off; Lord Mansfield, whose unbending rectitude had exposed him to the stigma of being a friend of the Catholics, escaped with difficulty serious injury; the Duke of Northumberland was robbed of his watch; the clothes of the Bishop of Lichfield were torn to ribbons; while his brother of Lincoln had a wheel of his carriage wrenched off by the mob. The chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian em-

Monster petition to Parliament.

Insults to members.

[1] Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. p. 510. "He was a Scotchman, and appears to have been honestly fanatical, but his fanaticism was mixed with something of the vanity and ambition of a demagogue, and with a vein of recklessness and eccentricity closely akin to insanity."

bassies were pillaged and burnt, a reward of five hundred pounds being afterwards offered by Government for the discovery of the perpetrator of the outrage. For several days London was at the mercy of the mob, and the riots were only suppressed after the sacrifice of many lives and an enormous loss of property of every kind. With the restoration of order appeared a royal proclamation denouncing in particular the destruction of the embassy chapels as a violation of international right, and holding out a prospect of severe measures for the repression of similar outrages in the future. "The month of June 1780," wrote Gibbon, himself an eyewitness of these scenes, "will ever be marked by a dark and diabolical fanaticism which I supposed to be extinct, but which actually subsists in Great Britain perhaps beyond any other country in Europe." [1]

Pillage of the embassy chapels.

Royal proclamation.

The result of these events was that the hands of Parliament were for the present tied; and twelve years were allowed to elapse before the Catholics of Scotland found themselves released from the most oppressive of the penal laws. On April 22, 1793, the Lord Advocate obtained permission to introduce the long-delayed measure of relief. In his speech on the occasion he declared the grounds on which the penal statutes had been based to be no longer in existence, and gave instances of the extreme hardships which must

Introduction of the relief bill for Scotland, 1793.

[1] *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. ii. p. 241.

be the result of putting them into force.[1] The effect of the bill was to secure to Catholics, on condition of their subscribing to the revised form of abjuration, the same freedom from all the pains and penalties imposed by former Acts (especially those passed in the first Parliament of William III.) as if they had actually made the "renunciation of Popery" therein required.[2] It secured to them also the peaceful possession and free disposition of their property; but they continued, as before, to be excluded from almost every public office, including that of teacher or professor of any subject whatsoever. Moreover, as appeared from the answer given by the Crown lawyers to certain queries put by the Scottish Catholics in the following year, they were still compelled to have their banns published in the parish church, to be married by the parish minister, to pay dues for baptism to the parish officials; and a Protestant consenting to be married by a priest was liable to fine and church censures. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the bill, which passed the Upper House on May 24, 1793, and obtained the royal assent a few days later, was received by the Catholics of Scotland with sincere gratitude, removing, as it did, at least in part, from the national statute-book a code of laws which had long disgraced it in the eyes of every friend of

Its provisions.

Its reception by the Scottish Catholics.

[1] Hansard, *Parliamentary History*, vol. xxx. 766 (April 23, 1793).
[2] Butler, *Historical Memoirs*, vol. iv. p. 109.

humanity.[1] The three Scottish bishops, writing to Pius VI., on July 8, 1793, gave expression to their feelings of joy at recent events;[2] and Bishop Hay manifested his own sense of gratitude towards the Government by the publication of a fine pastoral letter, in which he set forth the duty of loyalty to the state, and expressed his desire that public prayers should be offered for the king.

Pastoral labours of Bishop Hay.

Amid all the anxieties and labours attendant on his efforts to obtain the emancipation of his Catholic countrymen, the good bishop never relaxed in his zealous endeavours to extend and improve the missions committed to his care. John Macdonald, Bishop of Tiberiopolis and vicar-apostolic of the Highlands, had died in 1779, and Alexander Macdonald had been nominated by Propaganda as his successor. On March 12, 1780, he was consecrated at Scalan by Bishop Hay.[3] The latter prelate, in his report to the Sacred Congregation, dated three

Consecration of Alexander Macdonald.

[1] "There is no more humiliating chapter," observes Cunningham (*Church History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 543), "in our country's legislation than those penal statutes against the down-trodden Romanists. . . . They were to be a proscribed and outcast race, denied not only the right of fellow-citizens, but the charity which is generally extended to the most worthless of our fellow-creatures. William of Orange, notwithstanding his tolerant principles, put his name to this Act."

[2] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scritture riferit. iii., 8 Luglio 1793. "Le leggi penali contro i Cattolici nostri . . . sono finalmente per la divina providenza, e per il favore del nostro governo, quasi del tutto annullate."

[3] Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. iii. p. 467.

days later, referred to the strong opposition that had been shown to the appointment of Bishop Macdonald in favour of another priest of the same name, who found himself disappointed in the expectation which he had allowed himself to entertain of succeeding to the vacant dignity.[1] Some months previously the Holy See had named, as coadjutor to Bishop Hay in the Lowland district, John Geddes, rector of the seminary in Spain, recently removed from Madrid to Valladolid. Charles III., King of Spain, did not include in the decrees for the confiscation of Jesuit property such establishments as had been merely under the administration of the Society. In compensation, therefore, for the loss of the seminary at Madrid, the Spanish Government, after some delay, made over to the Scottish mission the fine Jesuit College at Valladolid, formerly the residence of the renowned Suarez; and in 1772 Father Geddes was sent out by the vicars-apostolic with twelve students, to take possession of the new institution.[2] The rector, who was a man of singularly humble and unpretending character, received the news of his nomination

John Geddes, coadjutor to Bishop Hay.

[1] Archiv. Prop., 15 Marzo 1780. "Scalan . . . in questo luogo dove ci fummo accordato di venire per sua consagrazione." Referring to the rival candidate for the vicariate, the bishop continues: "Vedendo però che l'affare pareva di andare contro alla sua speranza, fece vedere un disgusto che ben mostrava esser egli stato troppo affezionato alla dignità vacante."

[2] Forbes, in *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1864, pp. 196, 197.

to the episcopate with dismay, and at first with refusal. Finally, however, he yielded to the express command of Cardinal Castelli, and was consecrated Bishop of Marocco at Madrid, on November 30, 1780, by the Archbishop of Toledo, assisted by the Bishops of Urgel and Almeria.[1]

Among the most pressing matters which called for the attention of the Scottish bishops at this time was the position of the two national colleges at Rome and Paris. For some time past the Paris seminary had fulfilled but very imperfectly the end of its original foundation; while the college at Rome had suffered much by the suppression of the Society of Jesus, whence the rectors had always been chosen, and by the subsequent appointment of Italian secular priests as superiors of the establishment.[2] The need was

[1] Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. iii. p. 461.

[2] Forbes (*Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1864, p. 194, note) gives the following list of rectors of the Scotch College in Rome :—1615, Patrick Anderson : 1622, Geo. Elphinstone : 1644, William Christie : 1646, Francis Dempster : 1649, Andrew Leslie : 1652, Adam Gordon : 1655, Gilbert Talbot, *or* Geo. Bisset : 1658, F. Dempster, *bis* : 1663, Gilbert Talbot, *bis* : 1670, John Strachan : 1671, Hector de Marinis [Marini] : 1674, W. A. Lesley : 1688, Andrew Mackay : 1692, W. A. Lesley, *bis* : 1698, James Forbes : 1701, D. Calcaneus [Calcagni] : 1704, J. B. Nasellus [Naselli] : 1708, Thomas Fyffe : 1712, W. Clerk : 1721, Alex. Ferguson : 1818, Paul Macpherson : 1826, Angus Macdonald : 1834, Paul Macpherson, *bis* : 1846, Alex. Grant : [1880, James Campbell]. From 1724 until the suppression of the Jesuits, the rectorship was held by Italian Fathers of the Society; and after that event until 1818, by Italian secular priests. F. Gritta (appointed in 1724) and his successors appear to have governed the college, on the whole, well and wisely; and it was the maladministration of the secular rectors who followed them, rather than

also greatly felt of some alterations, corresponding to the requirements of the times, in the missionary statutes of Bishop Nicolson. With a view to the settlement of these important questions, Bishop Hay made a visit to Rome in 1781. He travelled by way of Belgium, resting at Brussels and afterwards at Spa, where he met the Papal nuncio and the Princess of Stolberg, mother-in-law of Charles Edward Stuart. From Spa the bishop continued his journey to Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, Wurzburg, and Ratisbon, receiving in the two latter cities a hospitable welcome from the Scotch abbots, Mackenzie and Arbuthnot. In September 1781 he arrived at Rome.

Visit of Bishop Hay to Rome, 1781.

Proposed amendments to the *Statuta* of Nicolson.

One of the points submitted by Bishop Hay for the decision of Propaganda had reference to the share assigned to the missionary clergy, by the statutes of Bishop Nicolson, in the administration of the property of the Church. From the wording of the *dubia* proposed to the Sacred Congregation, it would seem that Bishop Hay desired the right of nominating the administrators to be confined to the vicars-apostolic — a view which, judging from the reply of the consultor charged with the examination of the question, appears to have been considered not unreasonable by the Roman authorities.[1] The bishop also laid before

the fact of their being foreigners, that would seem to have chiefly influenced the vicars-apostolic in their efforts to obtain the appointment of a Scotchman to the post.—TRANSLATOR.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scritture riferit. ii. "Dub. 2. An

Propaganda an accurate account of the condition of the Scotch College at Paris; and this was embodied by the secretary in the report which he presented to the Congregation on January 18, 1782. Up to the time of Bishop Nicolson's death (1718) the college had sent out many excellent students to the Scottish mission. But in the vicariate of his successor, Bishop Gordon, the baneful influence of Jansenism had spread far and wide, and the superiors of the college in Paris had been suspected of a strong bias in favour of the erroneous tenets. As a natural consequence, the missionaries educated there followed in the same track, and thus was formed a powerful party, more or less antagonistic to the ecclesiastics who had received their training in Rome. The superiors of the college continued to enjoy the favour of the vicar-apostolic, and were not slow to profit by this circumstance. They strengthened their position still more by the method which they employed in investing the funds belonging to the college: inasmuch as it was set forth in legal documents that the funds in question were the property of the superiors — a statement quite

The Scotch College at Paris.

Leanings towards Jansenism.

aliqua potestas bona Missionis temporalia communia administrandi secundum Ecclesiæ leges in ipso corpore missionariorum resideat? Dub. 3. Utrum ad ipsos missionarios, an ad Vicarios Apostolicos, pertineat nominare quos dignos et idoneos judicaverint, qui in officium administratoris eligantur?" The consultor concludes his answer as follows: "Ex quo exorbitans videri non debet facultas, quam vindicant sibi in casu nostro Vicarii Scotiæ pro administrandis bonis illius missionis."

opposed to the real fact. Shortly after the Jacobite rising of 1745, the subscription of the clergy had been again required, after several years' disuse, to the formula of orthodoxy which had been imposed under Pope Alexander VII., and extended by Clement XII. in 1736.[1] All the missionaries at once subscribed the document, with the exception of a few members of the so-called "Paris party," who only complied after much delay. Among these reluctant signatories Bishop Hay mentions Alexander Gordon, the actual rector of the college in Paris, James Macdonald, and Alexander Geddes. The bishop refers to the singular sterility resulting from the Jansenistic bias of the college, pointing out that during the long interval from 1739 to 1764 it had not furnished a single priest to the Scottish mission.[2] He likewise deplores the fact of many of the seminarists having entered the army, while others after their return home brought disgrace on the Church by their apostasy. The financial circumstances of the

[1] See *ante*, p. 203.

[2] Archiv. Propag. Acta, fol. 10, 18 Januar. 1782. "I superiori del Collegio di Parigi diedero forse motivo di sospettare, che fossero molto attaccati al partito dei Giansenisti, e per la consuaguenza tutti i missionari, che venivano da quel collegio, erano dell' istesso sentimento coi loro maestri, e formarono un partito assai potente nella missione contro tutti quelli che stavano dall' altra parte, cioè i missionarii venuti dal collegio di Roma." *Ibid.*, fol. 30. "Dall' anno 1737 fino al 1764 il Collegio di Parigi non diede alla Scozia alcun missionario." *Decret.* "Scribatur ab E^mo^ Præfecto juxta mentem Nuntio Parisiensi." The gathering storm of the Revolution rendered any reform of the college impossible.

college are also described as almost hopelessly embarrassed.

Results of Bishop Hay's visit to Rome.

Other questions brought by Bishop Hay before the Holy See, during his visit to Rome, had reference to the issue of a new ritual for Scotland, and an increase of the annual grant made to the mission by Propaganda. With regard to both these points his efforts were successful.[1] A ritual, drawn up by himself, was afterwards printed in London, and formally approved by the Congregation. His proposed amendments to the *Statuta* of Bishop Nicolson were likewise sanctioned in April 1782 by the Congregation appointed to examine them, and were printed at the Propaganda Press.[2] Unfortunately, one of the chief wishes of Bishop Hay and his episcopal colleagues was destined to remain unfulfilled. Soon after the suppression of the Society of Jesus, Cardinal Marcfoschi, the protector of the Scotch College in Rome, finding it impossible to procure a suitable rector among the Roman secular clergy, had desired the Scottish bishops to select a fit person from the number of their own clergy. The bishops, however, had im-

[1] An annual subsidy of 200 crowns was voted for the mission. *Life of Bp. Hay* (*apud* Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 213).—TRANSLATOR.

[2] *Instructiones ad munera Apostolica rite obeunda, Missionariis Scotiæ accomodatæ.* Cf. Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scritt. riferit. iii. 29 Agosto, 1792. "L'edizione degli statuti della nostra missione sarà di somma utilità ai nostri missionari."

prudently declined to comply with this request: an Italian priest was again appointed, and in spite of the subsequent efforts of the vicars-apostolic, who recognised too late their mistake, the college continued to be ruled by Italian superiors, with very indifferent success, for upwards of forty years. In a letter addressed to Pius VI. from Aberdeen, on February 12, 1782, Bishop Hay depicted in lively colours the detriment caused to the colleges by the determination of the Cardinals not to permit the appointment of national superiors.[1] Towards the middle of April the bishop took his departure from Rome, having previously sat for his portrait, which still adorns the library of the Scotch College.

Labours of Bishop Hay and his colleagues.

On his return to his northern home, Bishop Hay resumed with unabated energy the discharge of his episcopal duties. By the month of August 1782, the three vicars-apostolic were able to report to the Holy See that the amended mission statutes were in successful operation. They mentioned at the same time that they had themselves each undertaken the charge of a mission—an addition to the burden of their ordinary duties, which was necessitated by the scanty

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit. iii., 12 Febbrajo 1782. "Ora, B^mo. Padre, tutte queste cose, il cattivo maneggio del Collegio, la rovina di tanti giovani, lo scialacquamento dei beni non sono nascosto dal publico. . . . Ecco le disgrazie . . . dalla risoluzione presa dagli Em^mi. Protettori di non ammettere superiori nazionali nei Collegi."

number of the clergy, as well as by the unsatisfactory financial condition of the Church in Scotland. It may well be conceived, therefore, with what gratitude the bishops received the announcement of an extraordinary annual grant from Propaganda of two hundred scudi. The need that existed of some such additional subsidy is forcibly shown by various incidents recorded with reference to the labours undertaken by the bishops at this time: among others, that Bishop Geddes made the long and fatiguing journey to Orkney entirely on foot. For the rest, the state of the mission was on the whole satisfactory; for not only did a spirit of perfect harmony prevail among bishops, clergy, and people, but the period, like that previous to the Jansenistic troubles, was also signalised by numerous conversions. We learn, moreover, that the Duke of Gordon, elder brother of the misguided enthusiast who had been chiefly responsible for the outbreak of 1780, showed much indulgence to the large number of Catholic tenants on his estates, and interested himself in their welldoing.[1] The personal ties which Bishop

Subsidy from Propaganda.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit. iii., 8 Agosto 1785. The joint letter, under this date, from the three Scottish bishops to Propaganda, gives a detailed account of their various missionary journeys. It concludes thus: "Abbiamo molti motivi di ringraziare Iddio per la pace che adesso godiamo. Fra gli altri il Duca di Gordon, il di cui fratello ha fatto tanto fracasso, e nei di cui stati vi sono più di cinque mila cattolici, dov' è situato ancora questo Seminario di Scalan, ci favorisce." So, writ-

Hay had formed, during his residence in London, with various persons high in authority, had had the effect not only of favourably disposing the Government towards the relaxation of the penal laws, but also of securing substantial material support for the Catholic clergy in Scotland. Each of the two vicars-apostolic was to receive £100 annually, and the coadjutor £50; while £50 were also to be granted to the two seminaries at Scalan and Lismore, in addition to a capital sum of £600, to defray the debt incurred in their erection. Unfortunately, the payment of these sums, which was made from the first with great irregularity, was after a few years suspended altogether; nor can we doubt that the original concession was dictated by motives of political expediency, rather than by any real sense of what justice required.

Government grant to the Scottish mission.

Much anxiety devolved upon the Scottish bishops about this time in connection with two important matters: the first of these being the lawfulness of the form of oath proposed by Mr Pitt to the English Catholics, and the second the critical condition of the national colleges at Paris and Rome. The body known as the Catholic Committee had some time previously urged on Pitt a further repeal of the disabilities

The Scotch bishops and the Catholic oath.

ing from Scalan on July 27, 1787, the bishops report as follows: "Nam et missionarios munere suo diligenter fungi videmus, et non pauci heretici ad Ecclesiæ gremium revertuntur."

affecting Catholics, to which the Minister rejoined by requesting for an opinion from the Catholic universities with regard to the alleged Papal power of dispensing subjects from obedience to their sovereign. Replies which were considered satisfactory having been obtained from the Sorbonne, Louvain, Douai, Alcalà, and Salamanca, the draft of a new relief bill was duly prepared in April 1788. So far all went smoothly; but in the following year the Committee submitted to the Government a form of oath which was considered in many quarters as of very exceptionable character. Bishop Hay, when consulted by the vicar-apostolic of London, Bishop Gibson, on the subject, expressed in decided terms his disapprobation of the formula, which in his opinion was equivalent to the oath of supremacy formerly condemned, and which he believed to be the work of "pretended friends, or false brethren."[1] His coadjutor, Bishop Geddes, expressed himself in very similar terms; and the joint opinion of the Scottish prelates seems to have had considerable weight with the bishops in England, who soon afterwards issued an encyclical in which the proposed oath was unconditionally condemned.[2]

Condemnation of the oath.

[1] *Life of Bishop Hay* (*Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 286). Bishop Hay to Bishop Geddes: "I would never sign the Paper sent by Bishop Gibson: besides other reasons, it includes, in my Opinion, an equivalent to the Oath of Supremacy."

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 287.

The Scotch College at Rome.

The unsatisfactory state of the colleges at Rome and Paris continued to be a source of grave anxiety to the Scottish bishops. In a letter to Propaganda, dated July 8, 1793, they observe that during the twenty years that had elapsed since the suppression of the Jesuits, the Scotch College at Rome had been rather a scandal than a benefit to the Catholics of Scotland.[1] "Not only," they wrote to Cardinal Antonelli a few weeks later, "have we lost, owing to these circumstances, a number of students of the highest promise; but many of these young men, on their return to Scotland, have given great disedification to the Catholics by their conduct and behaviour."[2] The bishops were encouraged to persevere in their reasonable demand for the appointment of a Scotchman to the rectorship of the college, by the rumour that Pius VI. had resolved, with the advice of the Congregation, to take a similar step with regard to the English College.[3] But neither their own representations, nor the efforts of

Efforts to obtain the appointment of a national rector.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scritture riferit. iii., 8 Luglio 1793. "Ma al contrario per questi venti anni passati dal tempo della soppressione dei Giesuiti, è stato [il collegio] di più scandalo che benefizio ai Cattolici di Scozia."

[2] *Ibid.*, Edinburgo, 6 Agosto 1793. "Abbiamo perduti molti di ottima speranza. . . . Non pochi di questi ritornando nella patria . . . diedero grandissimo scandalo ai Cattolici."

[3] "Abbiamo sentito che Sua Santità secondo il saggio consiglio di V. E. e della S. Congregazione ha presa la risoluzione di mettere superiori nazionali nei collegi Britannici."

Mr Hippisley, the accredited agent of the English Catholics at the Curia, nor the influence brought to bear by Bishop Hay through Mgr. Erskine, one of the Papal auditors, then resident in Scotland,[1] were followed by the desired result. The continued reluctance of the Cardinal-protector to comply with the request was not improbably grounded on a fear lest the influential post in question might fall to some one of more or less Jansenistic proclivities.

Their failure.

The state of the Paris College was even less satisfactory than that of the sister seminary in Rome. The strong representations which Bishop Hay, during his last visit to the Eternal City, had made with regard to this establishment, were abundantly justified in the following years. Gordon, the principal of the college, not only contested the claim of the Scottish bishops to super-

Unsatisfactory condition of the Scotch College at Paris.

[1] Charles Erskine, son of Colin Erskine of Cambo, who came to Italy with James III., was born in Rome, and entered the Scotch College in 1748. He did not, however, receive orders, but applied himself to study the law; and his successful conduct of a case in which Pius VI. was much interested first drew on him the attention of that Pontiff. He was made a prelate in 1782, and appointed canon of St Peter's and Promoter of the Faith. In February 1803, after a residence of nine years in England on diplomatic business connected with the revolutionary troubles, he was raised to the purple by Pius VII., and three years later appointed Cardinal Prodatario. On the Pope going into exile in 1809, Erskine, whose health was much broken, retired to the country, but in the following year the French compelled him to go to Paris, where he died on March 20, 1811. [He was buried in the church of St Genevieve at Paris.—Translator.] See Noraes, *Elementi della Storia de' Sommi Pontefici*, vol. xvi. part ii. p. 193; vol. xviii. p. 166.

vision over the institution, but went so far as to publish a pamphlet, in which he publicly attacked Bishop Hay for defending the rights of the episcopate.[1] The chief cause of complaint of the vicars-apostolic against the principal was the arbitrary and independent manner in which he administered the property of the college.[2] With a view of putting an end to these abuses, Bishop Geddes visited Paris in December 1791; and at a conference held between himself, Gordon, and the Carthusian Prior, in presence of Florac, vicar-general of Paris, the Abbé de Rigaud, and Colbert Bishop of Rhodez, who had agreed to act as arbiters, the claims of the principal to independent jurisdiction were unanimously disallowed.[3] A few months later the college was broken up by the advancing wave of revolution, and Gordon fled from Paris. The priceless documents bequeathed to the college by Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, more than two centuries before, were almost all destroyed.[4]

Complaints against the principal.

Results of the French Revolution.

[1] *Mémoire de M. Gordon, Principal du Collège de Ecossois à Paris, pour servir de réponse à l'invective de M. l'Evêque Hay, contre les supérieurs et élèves du dit Collège.* 1785.

[2] Owing to the unsatisfactory state of the college, the Scottish bishops, at Bishop Hay's instance, had decided to send no more students thither from Scotland; to which the principal (supported by the Carthusian Prior) retaliated by arresting the French funds belonging to the seminary at Scalan.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] *Life of Bishop Hay* (*Scotichronicon*), vol. iv. p. 328. Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scritture riferit. iii. Bishop Geddes to Cardinal Antonelli. Douai, April 30, 1792. "Il Signor Gordon, il quale trattava tutti i suoi beni e trasferigli altrove, se avesse potuto senza neppur consultarci o dirci, dove voleva andare."

[4] Michel, *Les Ecossais en France*, vol. ii. p. 534. See *ante*, vol. iii. p. 328, note.

Writing to Propaganda on April 19, 1797, the Scottish bishops declared that they had lost the whole of their property in France, that the annual subsidy from Rome had been, in consequence of the fall of exchange, reduced to a third of its former value, and that to supply the needs of the mission they had been obliged during the past three years to contract a debt of more than two hundred pounds.[1]

Death of Bishops Alexander Macdonald and John Geddes.

The last decade of this century witnessed the death of two of the Scottish bishops. Alexander Macdonald, vicar-apostolic of the Highlands, died on September 9, 1791; and his successor, John Chisholm, was appointed by brief dated November 8, and consecrated at Edinburgh on the twelfth of the following February by Bishop Hay, assisted by two priests. Bishop Geddes closed his long and laborious life at Aberdeen on February 11, 1799. In consideration of the continuous illness which had incapacitated him for the three previous years, Pius VI. had, on September 1797, nominated as coadjutor to Bishop Hay Alexander Cameron, who was consecrated at Madrid in October 1798.[2]

Change of public feeling in Scotland.

We have arrived at the close of the eighteenth century. The spirit of the times was changing

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scritture riferit. iii. "La total perduta di tutto quello che possedevamo in Francia, ed il cambio avendo ridotto quasi alla terza parte quello che si receveva dalla carità della S. Sede, ci ha costretti per i tre anni passati a contrar un debito di più di due cento lire sterline."

[2] Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. iii. pp. 466, 467, 462.

fast, and the penal laws had altogether failed to carry out the purpose for which they were enacted. In face of the silent revolution which was being brought about, in public life in general, by the progress of civilisation, and within the pale of the Presbyterian Kirk, by the slow but irresistible force of dissolution and decay, it was impossible that these laws could be longer maintained or upheld. Notwithstanding the inhuman treatment which a not inconsiderable section of the Scottish people had for more than two centuries endured on account of their religion, the Catholic Church in Scotland included in 1800 two bishops,[1] forty priests, twelve churches, and some thirty thousand of the faithful. She had come forth from the fire of persecution purified and strengthened; and it was in no mere empty form of words that the Scottish bishops, in a letter forwarded to Rome through Mgr. Erskine in August 1799, extolled the Divine Providence which had overruled for good the malice of their enemies, and expressed their fervent wish that their people might continue in the future to render themselves worthy of the protection of heaven.[2]

[1] As a matter of fact there were, as is evident from the preceding paragraph, three, not two, bishops in Scotland in 1800: Bishop Hay and his coadjutor Bishop Cameron, and Bishop John Chisholm.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scritture riferit. iii., 16 Aug. 1799. "O quanto ammirabili sono le opere della divina Providenza! Venti anni sono brucciarono le nostre case e capelle, e adesso ci ajutano di fabbricare capelle e collegi! Piaccia a Dio di darci la sua grazia,

Influence of Presbyterianism on the national character.

The effects, on the other hand, produced in the spiritual life of the Scottish nation by the dominant religious system of the eighteenth century are thus depicted by an able modern writer: "A people in many respects very advanced, and holding upon political subjects enlightened views, do, upon all religious subjects, display a littleness of mind, an illiberality of sentiment, a heat of temper, and a love of persecuting others, which shows that the Protestantism of which they boast has done them no good, and that it is unable to free them from prejudices which make them the laughing-stock of Europe, and which have turned the very name of the Scotch Kirk into a byword and a reproach among educated men."[1]

Tyranny of the Kirk.

In truth, there probably never existed among a civilised people a system of espionage like that of the Presbyterian Church, extending as it did its authority to even the most intimate relations of human society. Nothing could escape the vigilant eyes of the ministers, whose agents not only paraded the streets, but invaded the privacy of the domestic circle in order to make sure that none absented themselves from the preaching.[2] In every relation of life the ministers claimed a right to interfere, and a decisive voice. The writer already quoted has described the effect

di corrispondere come si deve a tanta bontà, e di renderci degni della continuazione della sua divina protezzione."

[1] Buckle, *History of Civilization*, vol. iii. p. 185.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 209.

wrought on the Scottish character by its long contact with this baneful system. "The clergy," he says, "deprived the people of their holidays, their amusements, their shows, their games, and their sports; they repressed every appearance of joy; they forbade all merriment; they stopped all festivities; they choked up every avenue by which pleasure could enter; and they spread over the country an universal gloom."[1] "Few forms of religion," writes Lecky, speaking of the Establishment in Scotland, "have been more destitute of all grace or charm, more vehemently intolerant, and at the same time more ignorant and narrow."[2] And the more inordinate and unreasonable the claims put forward by this singular body, the more decisive has been the inevitable reaction which our own century has witnessed, and the more widespread the spirit of doubt and infidelity which has been thereby fostered and encouraged.

[1] Buckle, *History of Civilization*, vol. iii. p. 269. Cf. Döllinger, *Kirche und Kirchen*, pp. 129, 259 *et seq.*

[2] Lecky, *Hist. of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 78.

CHAPTER V.

THE CHURCH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, TO THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HIERARCHY (1800-1878).

State of Great Br tain at the opening of the nineteenth century.

THE close of the eighteenth and opening of the nineteenth century found the attention of British statesmen largely occupied with questions of external policy. Nothing less was at stake than the overthrow of that extraordinary man, who had indeed in France curbed the hydra of revolution, but had thereafter kindled the flames of war in almost every country of Europe, and shattered almost every established form of government. Dynasties, in which a people's affections had been centred for generations, were overthrown in a day, and the kinsmen of the conqueror seated on the abandoned thrones: the usages of centuries were ruthlessly swept away, and the most priceless treasures of art were brought from the pillaged capitals to the imperial palace on the Seine, to swell the triumph and the grandeur of the victor. A second Attila seemed to have appeared from the mountains of

Corsica, armed with a divine mission to recall the nations, plunged in the torpor of rationalism and indifference, to the realities of life. England, with her deep-seated Conservative traditions, had made it the foremost object of her policy to oppose to the death the insatiable ambition of the Corsican conqueror, whose aim was nothing lower than to tread in the footsteps of William of Normandy, and to strike terror into British hearts, even in their sea-girt home. In presence of such a crisis, all questions of internal policy were reduced to secondary importance; and it was no longer possible that the Catholic subjects of the king should continue to be treated as they had been in the two preceding centuries. In his long-cherished design of effecting a landing on the coast of Ireland, Napoleon was doubtless greatly influenced by the hope of profiting by the traditional antipathy between the Irish and the English races; and it became therefore incumbent on the Government of Britain to take away as far as possible every cause of religious dissension within the realm. Nay, more, incredible as such a thing might have seemed a generation before, the exiled and proscribed clergy of France found a hospitable welcome at the hands of the British public, and their immediate wants were supplied by the State.[1] "No one," said Bishop Horsley,

England and Napoleon.

The French clergy in England.

[1] See Jervis, *The Gallican Church and the Revolution* (1882), pp. 223-228.

a prelate of the Anglican Church, preaching before the House of Lords on January 1793, "has a better claim to this proof of our affection than these men, from whose doctrines and observances we are so widely sundered. These estimable prelates and clergy of the fallen Church of France have won a place in all our hearts by the edifying example which they have given of patience under the sufferings which they are now enduring for conscience' sake."[1] The University of Oxford published for the special benefit of these homeless priests an edition of the Vulgate New Testament, and every one of them received a copy.[2] Numerous conversions among the leading families of England, in which the exiled *abbés* filled the humble office of teachers of French, and the foundation of many new missionary centres up and down the country, were among the blessings which the Church in England owed to the whirlwind of revolution, which had at one time threatened to tear the venerable Church of France from its roots. During his residence in London in 1794, Bishop Hay had entered into communication with Mgr. Colbert, Bishop of Rhodez, and Mgr. St Paul de Leon, Bishop of La Marche, with reference to the employment of some of the emigrant French clergy on the Scottish Mission.[3] A

[1] *The Gallican Church and the Revolution*, p. 274.

[2] Bishop Patterson, *On some reasons for not despairing of a national return to the faith* (*Dublin Review*, 1881, p. 211).

[3] *Life of Bishop Hay* (*apud* Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 369).

short time afterwards we find six of these good priests labouring in the Lowland vicariate.

Gradual development of the Church in Scotland.

In Scotland as well as in England, the Catholic Church was permitted by her enemies to enjoy at this time at least a temporary truce; and in the comparative freedom thus conceded to her, was enabled to make some progress in the work of development and organisation. "There still continues in Scotland," wrote the learned Chalmers in 1810, "the remains of the most ancient Church, after all the efforts of reformation, all the harshness of severity, and all the influences of kindness; so difficult is it to eradicate the religious habits of a people. The Roman Catholics of Scotland are ruled by several bishops, who are apostolic vicars, like the Roman Catholic bishops in England, and are allowed each a coadjutor when age or infirmity requires assistance. . . . These Roman Catholics are generally poor and helpless, quiet and inoffensive, which are qualities that anywhere merit and receive the protection of wise governments."[1]

Ecclesiastical statistics, 1800.

The number of Catholic churches in Scotland in 1800 amounted, as has been already observed, to twelve, which were served by three bishops and forty priests. An accurate picture of the condition of the Church at this time is furnished by the replies sent to Propaganda by Bishop Hay,

Report of Bishop Hay, 1804.

in a letter from Preshome dated August 15, 1804, in answer to a long list of queries submitted to

[1] Chalmers, *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 28.

him by the Congregation. The persecution of Catholics, he reports, was at an end, and they were permitted the free exercise of their religion. The Latin rite only was known and followed in Scotland. The missionaries, who numbered in the Lowland district eight-and-twenty, all natives of the country, were removable at the will of the bishop. All were of exemplary life, and with the exception of three who were engaged in the seminaries, faithfully fulfilled the duty of preaching and administering the sacraments. They received their faculties from the vicars-apostolic, to whom also they looked for their means of support; and each missionary received from the common fund the sum of ten pounds annually, which, however, was far from sufficient for his maintenance. There were no regular clergy, and no convents of nuns in the country. The Catholic laity held no communion with Protestants, nor did they frequent their churches: they frequently, however, contracted marriage with Protestants, but always before a Catholic priest.[1] Bishop Hay

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scritture riferit. iv., Preshome, 15 August 1804. "19. Habebam usque ad nuperrima tempora turbulenta ducenta scuta romana a S. Congregatione, et Coadjutor habebat centum; ab illis autem temporibus neque ego, neque Coadjutor quidquam accepimus. 24. Ritum Latinum solum norunt nostri Catholici. 27. Libere permittitur exercitium religionis Catholicæ. 28. Nullam persecutionem patiuntur Catholici. 31. Missionarii sunt ad nutum amovibiles. 34. Catholici nunquam communicant cum hæreticis in Scotia, nec eorum ecclesiis utuntur; sed contrahunt cum eis matrimonia, coram sacerdote tamen Catho-

at this time still continued to occupy the foremost position in the Scottish episcopate, although the increasing decay of his bodily and mental powers prevented him from taking any immediate part in the labours of the mission. His burden had for some years been shared by Bishop Cameron, who had been appointed his coadjutor in 1798, and to whom, on August 24, 1805, he formally transferred, with the sanction of Pius VII., the whole government of the Lowland vicariate.[1] In the archives of Propaganda is preserved a document, probably the last in which the name of Bishop Hay officially appears, embodying an order issued by the Pope relative to the oath prescribed to the students of the Scotch College. It is intimated that the latter are free to transmit to Propaganda, at whatever time and by whatever means they please, the annual report which they were required to furnish to the Congregation. At the same time, the vicars-apostolic are charged to render a yearly account of the conduct of former

Bishop Cameron appointed to the Lowland vicariate, 1805.

lico. 38. Numerus sacerdotum in nostro districtu est viginti octo, qui omnes sunt indigenæ. 39. Omnes missionarii sunt Scoti, probæ vitæ, in prædicando Evangelio et sacramentis administrandis occupantur, tribus exceptis, qui in seminario variis officiis funguntur. 40. Facultates habent omnes Missionarii a Vicario Apostolico. Ex redditibus communibus unusquisque sacerdos habet decem libras sterlinas, quæ summa in hac regione . . . nequaquam sufficit. 55. Nulli sunt Missionarii regulares. 57. Rituali utimur Romano, et Catechismis a nobis editis lingua vernacula. 63. Nullus est monialium conventus. 68. Præcipua Christianitatis hujus necessitas est paucitas operariorum."

[1] *Life of Bishop Hay* (*Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 447).

alumni of the college.[1] From the year 1805, Bishop Hay lived in complete retirement in the seminary of Aquhorties: and here, on October 15, 1811, he died at the age of eighty-three. The Catholics of Scotland deplored his loss as that of a father, and his name is still held in veneration among them.

Death of Bishop Hay, 1811.

The Highland district, as well as the Lowland, was at this time governed by two bishops, Æneas Chisholm having been appointed in 1804 co-adjutor to his brother, Bishop John Chisholm, the vicar-apostolic of the Highlands. He was consecrated in September 1805, by Bishop Cameron, in the seminary of Lismore, which his brother had established in the island of the same name off the Argyleshire coast. The condition of the poor Catholics of the Highlands was at this period one of great hardship. The famous *yellow stick*, with which tyrannical apostate lairds had been wont to drive their tenants to the kirk,[2] may indeed have fallen into disuse; but petty oppression of Catholics was still only too widely prevalent. Emigration was the only remedy that presented itself for these evils. Large numbers

The Church in the Highlands.

Emigration of Catholic Highlanders.

[1] Archiv. Prop. Scozia, Scritt. riferit. iv. Udienza di Nostro Signore, 14 Agosto 1807 (Report by Cardinal di Pietro). "Che sia libero a tutti [gli alunni] di poter scrivere, quando essi vogliano, e per quelle vie che a ciascuno d'essi possano riuscir comode e sicure. Si debbono per altro gli stessi Vicarii Apostolici incaricare, che annualmente rendano conto nelle loro relazioni de' portamento degli alunni."

[2] See *ante*, p. 189, note. See also the *Tablet*, 1881, vol. i. p. 272.

of Catholic Highlanders left their homes, and betook themselves, often accompanied by their faithful pastors, some to the manufacturing cities of the south, others to Catholic Canada. The last and largest body of Highland emigrants sailed for the New World in 1802, under the charge of Father Alexander Macdonald, who was provided with specially extended faculties from Propaganda, and who subsequently became the first Bishop of Kingston.[1] Bishop John Chisholm, who died in 1814, was succeeded in the Highland vicariate by his brother Æneas; and on the death of the latter in 1818, the vacant dignity was bestowed on Father Ranald Macdonald, who was consecrated at Edinburgh in February 1820. Four years previously, a coadjutor had been appointed to the vicar-apostolic of the Lowlands, in the person of Alexander Paterson.

[1] Father Macdonald did not actually accompany the party, but followed them two years later. The whole career of this distinguished and indefatigable pastor was one of entire devotion to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the poor Highlanders. He had procured them employment in Glasgow, until the sudden check to manufactures, caused by the French war of 1794. He had then obtained the consent of Government to their organisation as a Highland corps, known as the *Glengarry Fencibles*, under his kinsman the young chief of Glengarry; and he himself was gazetted as chaplain to the corps, which did good service in Guernsey and Ireland. Finally, on their being disbanded in 1802, he procured a grant from the Premier of two hundred acres of Canadian soil to every Highland emigrant, saw his people sail for their new home, followed them thither himself, and laboured for many years in their midst. Bishop Macdonald died in 1840 at Dumfries, while on a visit to Scotland; but his body was taken back to Canada, and interred in his cathedral at Kingston.—TRANSLATOR.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century was marked by a gradual but steady development of Catholicism throughout Scotland. Between 1800 and 1829, churches were erected in Aberdeen, Paisley, Dumfries, Dalbeattie, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Greenock, New-Abbey, Dufftown, Fasknadale, Eskadale, Dundee, Moidart, Bunroy, Fochabers, Portsoy, Tombae, and Chapeltown. Thus the ancient faith was once more revived in many of its former strongholds, while at the same time the Catholic population was largely augmented by the immense influx of Irish immigrants. In Edinburgh and Leith, the Catholics increased from 1000 in 1800 to some 14,000 in 1829; while in Dundee, in the latter year, they numbered 1500, in Perth 500, in Preshome 1400, in Glenlivat 1500, in Dumfries 1000, and in Aberdeen 3000. The newly erected chapels, numerous as they were, were far from sufficing for the wants of the faithful. In a report transmitted to Propaganda, on December 22, 1826, Fathers Scott, Murdoch, Kyle, and Macdonald[1] showed something of the reverse of the medal, dwelling as they did on the scarcity of pastors, the scanty number of churches, and the great poverty of most of their people.[2] Inconsiderable, however,

New churches, 1800-1829.

Increase of the faithful.

[1] All four were afterwards raised to the episcopate, the two former as vicars-apostolic of the Western, the two latter of the Northern District.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrit. riferit. iv. "Tot hominum millibus sat amplæ deficiunt ecclesiæ . . . Catholicorum inopia."

as was still the number of the clergy, they were distinguished by a spirit of concord and mutual charity which could not but console and edify the whole body of the faithful.[1]

Father Andrew Scott and *The Protestant.*

In the year 1821, the Church in Scotland was brought somewhat prominently before the public, owing to the action brought by the Rev. Andrew Scott, the priest at Glasgow, against a periodical known as *The Protestant*, for alleged calumny and slander. Scott, a typical specimen of his countrymen, into whose head, according to an English witticism, it is easier to drive a nail than a joke,[2] had against the judgment of many of his fellow-Catholics, reluctant to provoke the slumbering spirit of Puritanism, undertaken the erection of a large and handsome church in Glasgow, and had, in spite of many difficulties, carried the work to a successful issue. This bold proceeding drew down on him the enmity of the Protestant press, whose attacks and insinuations became daily more outrageous, until they culminated in

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrit. riferit. iv. Report of James Kyle, "missionis Scoticanæ presbyteri, e seminario Aquhortensi, 16 Octobr. 1822. Nemo est qui non solatium aliquod prægrande percipiat ex eo quod summa jam inter sese concordia et amicitia consociantur presbyteri, qui in hac missione laborant."

[2] The witticism referred to is, we suppose, Sydney Smith's well-worn jest about the surgical operation and the Scotchman, which has so sorely exercised our countrymen since its first utterance. Its application to Mr Scott is not at first sight evident; at all events, the good priest may well be excused if he failed to perceive the humour of insinuations which, if true, would have branded him as one of the vilest of men.—TRANSLATOR.

the definite charge against Mr Scott, of having extorted money "from the sweat and sinews and blood" of his impoverished flock, under threats of eternal punishment in the world to come. Damages were claimed from the proprietor of the paper which had printed these and similar statements; and the trial, which took place in Edinburgh, and excited much interest throughout Scotland, resulted in a verdict in favour of Mr Scott, to whom two thousand pounds were awarded as compensation.[1] It was to this indefatigable pastor, afterwards the second vicar-apostolic of the Western District, that the marvellous development of Catholicism in Glasgow was largely due. By 1829 the Catholic population of that city had increased to 25,000; while that of the whole of Scotland, two years previously, was reckoned at some 70,000 souls, including the bishops and fifty priests. There were at this time thirty-one churches, two seminaries, and about twenty elementary schools. In consideration of the continual increase in the number of the faithful, Leo XII., by a brief dated February 13, 1827, made a new partition of the Scottish mission, which was henceforth divided into three vicariates, the Eastern, Western, and Northern.[2]

Catholic population of Scotland, 1829.

Erection of a third vicariate, 1827.

[1] This is hardly correct. The total amount awarded by the jury was fifteen hundred pounds, and this included the heavy costs of the action.—Translator.

[2] The brief, which commences *Quanta lætitia affecti sumus*, will be found in the *Bullarium Propag.*, v. 22.

The Emancipation Act.

The inherent antipathy of Presbyterianism to the Catholic Church was stirred up once more by the discussions on the bill which the Government was at this time proposing to bring before Parliament, for the repeal of the remaining disabilities affecting Catholics. The measure, first proposed by Fox in 1805, and supported successively by Plunket, Burdett, and Canning, did not finally become law until 1829. The English Tories, throughout the long preliminary negotiations, showed little sign of liberality or tolerance towards their Catholic countrymen; and the same party that, under William III. and Anne, had pressed for the enactment of the most stringent penal laws against them, were now equally vigorous in resisting the concession of their civil and political liberties. The rapid rise, however, of O'Connell to power and influence, and the extraordinary ascendancy which he in a short time acquired, were, as is well known, successful in combating the determination even of a Peel and a Wellington; and a satisfactory measure was very soon laid before the House of Commons.

Feeling in Scotland.

The news of this no sooner reached Scotland, than the descendants of the Covenanters organised anti-Catholic meetings in all parts of the country. In every town and village of Scotland were witnessed manifestations of bigotry and intolerance that recalled the days of James VI. The petition adopted at Edinburgh

against the proposed bill had 18,000 signatures, a similar one at Glasgow, 37,000. At the same time there were not wanting more enlightened citizens, who boldly entered the lists in order to assist in breaking the yoke from off the necks of their countrymen. Among those thus honourably distinguished, may be mentioned the ex-lord-provost of Edinburgh, Sir William Arbuthnot, the Dean of Faculty, Sir James Moncreiff, Dr Chalmers, Lords Jeffrey and Cockburn, and Sir Walter Scott. Meanwhile, regardless of popular clamour, the Ministry proceeded with the introduction of the promised measure. While from outside Parliament petitions and even menaces poured in upon the Government, within the walls of Westminster party spirit ran no less high. Two of the king's brothers, the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex, declared themselves in favour of the bill, while the Duke of Cumberland uncompromisingly opposed it. A speech of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, assailing the Catholics in a strain of unmeasured invective, was replied to by Sussex in very severe terms. In the Commons, also, the debate was long and heated; but under the guidance of Wellington and Peel the measure was successfully steered through both Houses. On March 13, 1829, it passed the Commons, and four weeks later the Lords; and on April 13 it received the royal assent, not, however,

The Act passed, March 1829.

without many signs of childish and impotent anger on the part of the monarch.[1]

Position of Catholics after 1829.

The Act of 1829, while it removed the chief disabilities under which the Catholics had so long laboured, did not, nevertheless, restore them to a position of complete equality with their Protestant fellow-subjects. The prohibition of Jesuits and monastic orders remained in force, although no Government has since that time thought it worth while to interfere with institutions whose usefulness is very generally recognised in all quarters. Nor have such inquiries into their working as successive ministries have from time to time instituted, at the instance of ultra-Protestant members of Parliament, been productive of any but the most satisfactory results. Among the grievances of which the Catholics of Scotland, even after the passing of the Emancipation Act, were still entitled to complain, was the refusal of all State support to their schools; but this has to a great extent been removed by recent legislation. The same may be said of two other privileges which long continued to be enjoyed by the Established Church: the first being the so-called annuity-tax, which was formerly imposed on other religious denominations in favour of

Remaining disabilities.

Annuity-tax.

[1] The speeches delivered on this memorable occasion are printed in full in the *Parliamentary Debates* of Hansard (vol. xx. p. 370). A summary of Peel's great speech is given by Reinhold Pauli, *Geschichte Englands seit den Friedenschlussen von* 1814 *und* 1815 (Leipsic, 1864) vol. i. p. 478.

Presbyterianism, but was subsequently abolished through the efforts of Mr M'Laren;[1] and the second the compulsory publication of banns in the parish church, which since 1878 has been no longer obligatory. Such publication, previous to that year, had in every case to be made by the minister of the Establishment, and the penalty of banishment for life was incurred by any dissenter from the State religion who presumed to contract marriage without this preliminary.[2] The clergy of the Established Church were naturally the only persons who benefited by these stringent regulations; and when in course of time that Church had lost much of its ancient ascendancy, such claims could not but be resolutely opposed. The reasonable reluctance felt by a large section of the population to continue to pay an often exorbitant tribute to the ministers of a religious denomination with which they had no sympathy, paved the way for the important enactment of 1878, which provided that notice given to the parish registrar, and a certificate issued by him,

Publication of banns.

[1] The annuity-tax was not, as the author seems to imply, a general impost exacted throughout Scotland, but a local tax devoted to the payment of the stipends of the Established clergy of Edinburgh. It was first established in 1661, and was extended in its sphere of operation by subsequent Acts. On its abolition in 1870, compensation amounting to upwards of £50,000 was paid to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners by the Corporation of Edinburgh.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] The celebrating minister only, not the contracting parties, was liable to the penalty of banishment: the latter incurred sentence of fine and imprisonment. The Act referred to in the text is known as the Marriage Notice (Scotland) Act, 1878.—TRANSLATOR.

should be sufficient authority for the celebration of marriage by any minister of religion. In practice, of course, the effect of this amendment of the law was by no means identical in the cases of Protestants and Catholics. To the latter the public proclamation of banns, as ordered by the Council of Trent, remained precisely as much of obligation as before; whereas the former were now offered the alternative of receiving the necessary certificate on payment of a small fee to a civil official, or having their banns published in the usual way, but at considerably greater expense, by a minister of religion. It is not difficult to conjecture which of these two courses was likely to be most generally followed.[1] It remains to be mentioned that down to very recent times no Catholic priest could hold a permanent appointment as chaplain in a prison, workhouse, or hospital — a state of things the injustice of which has repeatedly been represented to the Home Secretary by the Catholic Union. One more disabling clause in the Emancipation Act may be mentioned — one not likely to be considered as a grievance by the Catholics of Scotland: namely, that declaring them ineligible to hold the office of Royal Commissioner to the General Assembly.

The boon of Catholic emancipation once ob-

[1] See an article by the author in the *Katholik* for 1879 (vol. ii. pp. 200-221), entitled *Edinburgh and Presbyterianism.*

tained, the vicars-apostolic applied themselves with redoubled zeal to the work of extending and developing the mission; and new churches and schools, erected by the voluntary offerings of the faithful, began to rise in every part of Scotland. A notable step in advance was taken in 1829, by the union of the two small seminaries of Aquhorties and Lismore. Mr Menzies of Pitfodels, a Catholic owning considerable property, had made over to the bishops, two years previously, the fine estate of Blairs, in Kincardineshire; and here, in the place of the two former seminaries, was established a new ecclesiastical college, which down to the present day has continued to render signal service to the Church. With a view to providing for the altered circumstances of the times, the vicars-apostolic, in a meeting held at Glasgow on August 14, 1828, issued various regulations, many of which are still in force, dealing with the mode of nominating to vacant bishoprics, the administration of church property, the appointment of professors, and the discipline to be observed by the students.[1] A point which had been frequently mentioned in former reports sent to Rome by the bishops, was the fact that Scotland did not possess a single convent of nuns. This reproach was removed, in 1832, by the holy and zealous priest, Father (afterwards Bishop) Gillis, an eloquent letter from whose pen is

Effects of Catholic emancipation.

Foundation of Blairs College.

Return of religious women to Scotland.

[1] Archiv. Prop. Scozia, Scrit. riferit., 1828.

preserved in the Propaganda archives, communicating to Pope Gregory XVI. the project of founding an Ursuline convent in Edinburgh. With the sanction of Bishop Paterson, he travelled through France, Spain, and Italy, in order to appeal to the generosity of Catholics in aid of the new foundation; and among those who assisted to carry out the work may be mentioned the Dauphiness, the Duchess of Angoulême, and the Duchess of Berry. Mr Gillis had afterwards the opportunity of testifying his gratitude towards the Bourbon family; for when the ex-royal family of France, driven forth by the Revolution of 1830, took up their residence in Edinburgh, he was able to render them considerable service.

St Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh.

The proposal to found the convent at Edinburgh, under the invocation of St Margaret, excited the warmest interest and sympathy amongst Catholics, and even many Protestants promised a warm welcome to the good sisters, and such material help as they could afford.[1] These manifestations of respect, as well as the general admiration excited by the heroic devotion of the Catholic clergy during the terrible visitation of cholera in 1832, did much to dispel ancient prejudices, and to elevate the Church in the eyes of the Protestant public. Nothing, indeed,

[1] Archiv. Prop. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit. iv., Edinburg., 6 Januar. 1832. "Non desunt etiam ex Protestantibus Edinburgi concives eximii, qui mihimet spoponderunt se læto animo dictas sanctimoniales expectaturos esse, et pro posse sustentaturos."

could have been more emphatic than the expressions of approbation with which the non-Catholic press described the truly Christian charity with which the clergy devoted themselves to the sick and dying during those trying months.[1]

Bishop Paterson, the vicar-apostolic of the Eastern District, died on October 31, 1831, and was succeeded by Andrew Carruthers, who was appointed by Gregory XVI. in 1832, and consecrated at Edinburgh in January of the following year. In a letter to Cardinal Pedicini, dated a few days after his consecration, Bishop Carruthers testified to the complete harmony of spirit that prevailed among his clergy, and expressed, in union with them, his entire devotion to the Holy See. The Western District, of which Glasgow was the centre, was at this time worthily administered by Bishop Andrew Scott, who had been raised to the episcopate in 1828, and under whose guidance the Church made notable progress. In the year 1835 the three vicars-apostolic commissioned

State of the Church in 1832.

[1] Archiv. Prop. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit. iv. The following extract from a Glasgow Protestant journal, dated February 25, 1832, was forwarded to Rome, translated into Italian. "It would be wrong to pass over in silence the fortitude and Christian zeal manifested at this critical time by the Catholic clergy. Day and night, whenever and wherever their services are required or desired, are to be found priests at the sick and dying beds, utterly fearless of contagion. . . . A large number of medical men have referred in terms of high admiration to the zeal and devotion of the Catholic clergy."

Father Paul Macpherson, former rector of the Scotch College in Rome, to carry to the Holy See a report of the state of religion in Scotland. He was able to inform the Sacred Congregation that Catholicism had made considerable advances. In Edinburgh the number of the faithful had increased in forty years from 700 to 8000, in Glasgow from 50 to 24,000. The bishops, in the same report, referred in somewhat pathetic terms to the needy condition of the clergy, the majority of whom had no houses of their own, and were obliged to reside in the humble cabins belonging to their flocks. It would, they continued, cause incalculable injury to the mission if these poor priests, who returned home from laborious and often perilous visits to their scattered people, to a scanty meal of oat or barley bread, were allowed to quit the country, with a view of finding elsewhere a somewhat easier field of labour.[1] Two-and-twenty churches had, it was true, been erected in the last few years, but of these only a very small number were free from debt. Where a church was wanting, services were held, if possible, in some public hall, which alone could afford the

Poverty of the clergy.

[1] Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit. iv. "1. Pochi di essi sacerdoti hanno casa propria, e però sono costretti di soggiornare ora in uno, ora in un altro miserabile tugurio del loro grege. 2. Da tutto ciò si può rilevare il gran danno che risulterebbe alla nostra santa religione nella Scozia, se ai sacerdoti allevati sui fondi . . . fosse permesso di trasferirsi in altre missioni, in altri paesi, per menar ivi la vita con minore fatica."

requisite accommodation. The bishops concluded their report by begging that the legacy of the Cardinal of York might be handed over to the mission.[1]

The Cardinal of York.

Mention has already been made in these pages of Benedict Henry Stuart, widely known and reverenced, less for his intellectual gifts than for the kindness and benevolence of his character, as the Cardinal of York. Born at Rome, on March 6, 1725, and raised to the cardinalate, as has been already mentioned, by Benedict XIV. in 1747, he filled successively the high offices of vice-chancellor of the Roman Church, arch-priest of the Vatican Basilica, and Cardinal-Bishop of Tusculum. In February 1788, he caused to be interred with royal honours, in his episcopal city of Frascati, the remains of his elder brother, Prince Charles Edward; and considering himself, after the decease of his brother, the legitimate heir of the crown of Britain, he had a medal struck as a lasting memorial of his claim to the throne.[2] For many years the cardinal was the dean of the Sacred College, and he assisted at the conclaves for the election of no less than four

His ecclesiastical career.

[1] In a letter from the Scotch bishops, dated April 9, 1834, it is stated "prædictum Cardinalem omnia sua bona catholicis regni Scotiæ legasse."

[2] The obverse of the medal bears a portrait of the cardinal, with the inscription, HENRICUS • IX • MAGNÆ • BRIT • FRANC • ET • HIB • REX • FIDEI • DEFENSOR • CARD • EP • TUSC.; while on the reverse are the significant words, NON • DESIDERIIS • HOMINUM • SED • VOLUNTATE • DEI.

Popes. He died at Frascati on July 13, 1807.[1] He had never set foot on the soil of Scotland, but he always cherished for that country a warm affection, which he manifested by bequeathing a portion of his property to the Scottish Church. The legacy, however, does not appear to have been paid, for as late as 1835 we find the vicars-apostolic making application for it through Propaganda.

His affection for Scotland.

Among the prelates whom the emancipation of the Catholic Church set free to labour with renewed zeal for the development of religion in Scotland, Bishop James Gillis deserves a foremost place. Born at Montreal on April 2, 1802, of Scottish emigrant parents,[2] he returned with them to Scotland in his fifteenth year, and soon afterwards commenced his ecclesiastical studies at Aquhorties. The proficiency in the French language which he had acquired in early youth proved subsequently of much service to him in his frequent and intimate relations with the Catholics of France; and we have already seen the prominent part which he took in the foundation of the Ursuline convent in Edinburgh. On the recommendation of the Scottish bishops, Mr Gillis was in 1837 named coadjutor to the vicar-

Bishop James Gillis.

[1] Novaes, *Elementi della Storia de' Sommi Pontefici*, vol. xiv. p. 127.

[2] His mother was a Miss Langley, a Protestant Episcopalian, who, however, embraced the Catholic faith not long before her death.—TRANSLATOR.

apostolic of the Eastern District, and was consecrated at Edinburgh in July of the following year. Soon afterwards he visited Paris, and during his residence there entered into negotiations with the French Government for the restoration of what remained of the library of the Scotch College, which he ultimately succeeded in transferring to the seminary at Blairs. The account given by the bishop of the necessitous condition of the Church in Scotland resulted, after some delay, in the promise of an annual grant in support of the mission from the recently founded Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Mgr. Gillis was frequently invited to preach in the churches of Paris, and when some years later (in May 1857) he pronounced in the cathedral of Orleans the panegyric of Joan of Arc, the mayor of the city presented to him, as a tribute of gratitude and admiration, the heart of Henry II. of England, who died in 1189 at Chinon on the Loire.[1] Between the years 1843 and 1849 the bishop paid several visits to Germany, spending some days in the ancient Scottish abbey of St James at Ratisbon. His business there was connected with a long-cherished desire of the vicars-apostolic to bring about the reorganisation of the establishment, the community of which was all but extinct, as a seminary for the educa-

Coadjutor in the Eastern District, 1837.

Bishop Gillis in France,

and in Germany.

The Scottish abbey at Ratisbon.

[1] Gordon, *Scotichronicon*, vol. iv. p. 488. This interesting relic is now preserved in St Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh.—TRANSLATOR.

tion of missionary priests.[1] With this view, Bishop Gillis, having obtained the concurrence of the last two surviving conventuals—Fathers Benedict Deason and Anselm Robertson—approached the Bavarian Government on the subject in August 1848. On the 6th of the following November, the Baron von Strauss signified the king's pleasure that the petition should be refused, owing to the fundamental objections of a legal and

The Bavarian Government and the Scottish bishops.

[1] Lindner, in his history of the Benedictine writers of Bavaria (p. 232), gives a sketch of the history of the famous abbey of St James, founded in 1068 by Marianus Scotus, at the instigation of the hermit Muriherdach. Among the most distinguished *alumni* of the monastery in modern times, he mentions the following: 1. *Andrew Gordon*, member of the Munich Academy of Sciences, came to Ratisbon in 1724, and after travelling in France and Italy, became professor of philosophy at Erfurt University in 1737. He died in 1750. 2. *Bernard Stuart*, born in 1706 of a good Perthshire family, was professed at St James's in 1726. From 1733 to 1741 he was mathematical professor at Salzburg, and in 1742 at St Petersburg. In 1743 he became abbot of Ratisbon, where he died the same year. 3. *Marianus Brockie*, professor of philosophy at Erfurt, and afterwards abbot there. He laboured for twelve years on the Scottish mission, returning later to Ratisbon, where he died in 1756. 4. *Gallus Leith*, of good Scottish family, born 1709. He came to Ratisbon in 1718, entered the Order in 1725, and became professor of theology. Returning to Scotland in 1740, he was appointed confessor to Charles Edward, who sent him to London on a secret mission. After the disaster of Culloden, he escaped in the guise of a servant of Von Erdt, secretary to the Bavarian embassy; but he was subsequently taken prisoner, and confined for six months in London. He was released on engaging to quit the country, and returned to Ratisbon, where he was chosen abbot in 1756, and died in October 1775. 5. *Benedict Arbuthnot*, born in Aberdeenshire on March 5, 1737, entered Ratisbon in 1748, becoming afterwards director of the seminary and professor of mathematics and philosophy, and member of the Academy of Sciences. He was elected abbot in 1776, and died in 1820.

financial nature that existed against it. Special emphasis was laid on the fact that the establishment, as the property of the Benedictine Order, had fallen under the law of secularisation passed in 1803, but that the royal indulgence had postponed the execution of the decrees until 1817, when a new destination was given to the monastery by the Concordat which was concluded in that year. It was added that the king, having in 1838 waived the claim of the Treasury to the property in question, it must for the future be devoted to purposes of education and instruction.

Representations of the bishops.

To these considerations the Scottish bishops were not unprepared with a reply. The abbey of St James, they were advised, had been in no sense included among the secularised institutions, and in the decrees referred to, dated February 23, 1803, it was not even mentioned—a circumstance which could only be explained on the supposition that it was regarded as altogether ex-territorial. On these and other grounds the bishops addressed to the Government of Bavaria a further appeal:[1] this led to fresh negotiations, and no decisive step was taken in the matter until many years had

[1] "Réclamations auprès du gouvernement de sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière, contre un arrêté du ministère des cultes du 6 Novembre 1848, touchant le monastère et le séminaire de S. Jacques des Écossais à Ratisbonne. Adressées à Son Excellence le ministre d'État de Bavière par l'évêque-coadjuteur de Mgr. le Vicaire-apostolique d'Edimbourg. Imprimé comme manuscrit." Liège, 1849.

Ultimate fate of the abbey.

elapsed. At length, in 1862, the abbey, with the sanction of the Holy See, passed finally into the possession of the Bavarian Government, which undertook in return to pay a certain sum as compensation. A part of this fund was devoted to the construction of the fine buildings of the Scotch College in Rome, opposite the Barberini Palace, the old monastery at Ratisbon being meanwhile made over to the bishop of the diocese for the purpose of a seminary.[1] The Scotch colleges at Douai and Paris did not survive the Restoration of 1815. The French Government, however, took upon itself the payment of a certain annual sum to defray the expense of educating eighteen Scottish students in French seminaries, and this arrangement has continued in force down to the present time. The administration of the fund in question is intrusted to an English ecclesiastic residing in Paris.[2]

The colleges at Douai and Paris.

Introduction of religious orders by Bishop Gillis.

In the year 1852 Bishop Gillis, who had just succeeded to the Eastern Vicariate, on the death of the venerable Dr Carruthers, stationed at Leith

[1] The valuable library of the monastery was divided between the new episcopal seminary and the Staats-Bibliothek at Munich. A few only of the most interesting books and documents, including the *Liber Benefactorum*, lists of the religious and the *alumni*, a copy of Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, &c., were brought to Scotland by the last surviving conventual, and are now at Fort-Augustus. Some of the Ratisbon MSS. are also preserved at Blairs College, Aberdeen.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Mgr. Rogerson, the ecclesiastic in question, died in 1884. The fund has been usually administered by French, not English, priests. The present agent is one of the fathers of S. Sulpice.—TRANSLATOR.

and at Galashiels fathers of the Congregation of Mary Immaculate, founded by the pious Bishop of Marseilles, Mgr. de Mazenod; and seven years later he established the Jesuits at Edinburgh. He also introduced the Sisters of Mercy, from Limerick, to superintend the female schools. Among the large number of Anglicans to whom the good bishop was the means of bringing the light of the Catholic faith, may be mentioned Viscount Feilding, the present Earl of Denbigh, who has inscribed on his banner the significant words, *First a Catholic, then an Englishman*, and who has never ceased to devote himself to the furtherance of Catholic interests with a zeal that recalls the fairest days of England's chivalry. Bishop Gillis went to his reward in 1864, his successor being Dr Strain, the president of the seminary at Blairs, on whom Pius IX. conferred the episcopal consecration on September 25, 1864, as also upon Mgr. Mermillod, the illustrious vicar-apostolic of Geneva. Together with his colleagues, Bishop Macdonald of the Northern District, and and Bishop Gray of the Western, Dr Strain assisted at the Vatican Council in 1869-70.[1]

Internal dissensions in the Scottish Church.

During the last quarter of a century, the Catholic Church in Scotland has not been entirely free from internal dissensions, affecting principally the Western District, and in particular

[1] *Acta et Decreta sacrosancti et œcumenici Concilii Vaticani* (Friburg, 1871), pp. lix-lxxii.

Glasgow.[1] The Catholic population of this district was chiefly composed of immigrant Irish, whom the distress consequent on the famine in their own country had driven to find a new home in the commercial capital of Scotland, and to whom the rapidly increasing industries and manufactures of that city offered the best chance of subsistence. In quitting their native country the children of Erin laid aside none of their national characteristics and prejudices, the result being that, in the beginning of the sixth decade of the century, clergy and people found themselves divided into two sharply antagonistic parties. The Irish priests considered themselves slighted in favour of their Scottish brethren in the distribution of ecclesiastical offices, and they permitted their grievances to be brought before the public through the very questionable medium of the newspaper known as the *Glasgow Free Press*, whose editor advocated with the most unrestrained freedom of speech the supposed interests of his party. This enterprising journalist, finding that his appeal to the public tended to widen, rather than to bridge, the gulf that actually existed, proceeded to transmit to Propaganda a

Effects of the Irish immigration to Glasgow.

The *Glasgow Free Press.*

[1] The narrative which follows is based chiefly on the negotiations carried on with the Congregation of Propaganda relative to the restoration of the Scottish hierarchy, and preserved in the *Ristretto con sommario e nota d'archivio sulla repristinazione della gerarchia in Scozia*: ponente l'em^mo. et rev^mo. Signor Cardinale Luigi Bilio: Gennaro, 1878.

memorial, expressing in a very outspoken manner the views already referred to. Matters soon reached an acute stage: the Irish clergy forwarded to Rome, as a supplement to the memorial, a series of resolutions embodying their various grievances, while the opposite party presented to Bishop Murdoch a loyal address, disavowing all concurrence in the charges of favouritism which had been brought against him. The bishop was able to exonerate himself completely from the accusations which had been carried against him to Propaganda; but there can be little doubt that his death, which occurred in 1866, was hastened by the agitation consequent on these unhappy dissensions. His successor, Bishop Gray, received from the Holy See, as his coadjutor, an Irish Vincentian father named Lynch, the hope being entertained in Rome that the elevation of an Irishman to the episcopal dignity might tend to restore peace among his countrymen in Glasgow. The result of the step, however, did not justify the expectations that had been formed; and there seemed to be daily greater reason to fear lest the prevailing divisions might before long develop into open schism.

Appointment of an Irishman as coadjutor-bishop in Glasgow.

In the year 1867 the Congregation of Propaganda resolved to institute an Apostolic Visitation in the Western District, and the Archbishop of Westminster, Mgr. Manning, was selected to carry out this duty. The voluminous report submitted

Archbishop Manning Apostolic Visitor to the Western District.

His report.

by him to the Holy See may be summarised under the four following heads: 1. The Catholic population of the Western District had increased in recent times to a disproportionate extent, and now equalled that of all the English vicariates previous to 1850. The ecclesiastical administration lacked the requisite firmness, nor were the clergy provided with the regulations necessary for the proper carrying out of their missionary duties. 2. Until the year 1800 the great majority both of clergy and laity in Glasgow were of native birth. The numerous Irish who had since settled in the country held themselves greatly aloof from their Scotch fellow-Catholics, and according to their organ, the *Free Press*, desired a countryman of their own as bishop. 3. Such a pitch had this national feeling reached among both Irish and Scotch, that there appeared little prospect of a fusion of the two parties. 4. The nomination of an Irish priest as coadjutor-bishop had tended to increase the disunion, and was calculated to exercise an influence rather deleterious than otherwise. Shortly after the presentation of this report, Bishop Gray tendered his resignation of his office, while Dr Lynch was appointed coadjutor-bishop of Kildare and Leighlin in Ireland. With the view of securing to the now vacant district the nomination of a prelate who should stand above both contending parties, Propaganda entered into nego-

Resignation of Bishop Gray.

tiations with Mgr. Errington, titular Archbishop of Trebizond, and former coadjutor to Cardinal Wiseman; but he declined to accept the dignity. Mgr. Eyre, vicar-general of Hexham and Newcastle — a prelate universally esteemed for his piety, culture, and indefatigable zeal—was then, at the instance of Archbishop Manning, appointed to the Western Vicariate; and on January 28, 1868, he was consecrated to the titular see of Anazarba, in the church of S. Andrea della Valle at Rome, by Cardinal Reisach, assisted by Archbishops Manning and Merode. Entering upon his new duties with the special title and dignity of Apostolic Delegate from the Holy See, he succeeded by his tact and prudence in calming the troubled waters, and restoring to the disunited mission the peace to which it had so long been a stranger.

Nomination of Mgr. Eyre to the Western Vicariate, 1868.

At the moment when the contest between the Scotch and Irish parties in Glasgow was at its height, the cry was first raised, on the Irish side, for the restoration of the hierarchy. It was in the columns of the *Free Press* that this demand was originally addressed to the Holy See, on the ground that by no other means could the arbitrary proceedings of the vicars-apostolic, under which the Irish Catholics were supposed to be suffering, be effectually restrained. Keane, the editor of the journal in question, who had forwarded a memorial on the subject to Rome, was

Project for the restoration of the hierarchy.

Action of the *Glasgow Free Press.*

forbidden by Propaganda to discuss the matter further; but the prohibition was disregarded, on the alleged plea that it had not come to hand in time. A number of the Irish clergy in Glasgow expressed their concurrence in the views put forward by the *Free Press*. A proposal of such importance, however, could not, of course, be entertained without much preliminary negotiation, and without consulting the persons most nearly concerned in the matter, the vicars-apostolic of Scotland. Steps were accordingly taken to obtain their opinion on the suggested change, as well as that of the metropolitan of the English province. "In my judgment," wrote Cardinal Wiseman in reply on April 24, 1864, "there is no room to doubt that a thorough change is required in the ecclesiastical organisation of Scotland. An increase in the number of vicars-apostolic would naturally appear to be advisable in the first place: at the same time, many difficulties would be overcome were the existing form of Church government to be modified by the nomination of ordinary bishops." The vicars-apostolic themselves—Mgrs. Murdoch, Kyle, and Gray—expressed their unanimous opinion that no advantage was to be expected to the Scottish mission from the proposed change, which they feared would only tend to increase the prejudice which already existed against the development of the Church in Scotland. Archbishop Manning,

Opinion of Cardinal Wiseman;

of the Scottish vicars-apostolic;

of Archbishop Manning.

on the other hand, closed the report of his visitation, already referred to, with the following weighty words: "There seems to me only one means of remedying the existing evils and guarding against them for the future — namely, the erection of dioceses in Scotland, and the introduction of a regular hierarchy."[1] It was with the view of smoothing the way for the realisation of this project that Archbishop Eyre received the title of Apostolic Delegate, and, previous to entering upon his office, conferred with the Archbishop of Westminster, who was charged to communicate to him the necessary instructions.

Renewal of the negotiations, 1877.

The negotiations for the restoration of the Scottish hierarchy, after slumbering for many years, were renewed on the occasion of the celebration of the episcopal jubilee of Pius IX. On May 9, 1877, a deputation of Scottish Catholics offered to the Pontiff the congratulations of the body of the faithful which they represented, on his attainment of the fiftieth year of his episcopate. Surrounded by members of the noble families of Maxwell, Gordon, Lennox, Hastings, Douglas, and many others, Bishop Strain, the vicar-apostolic of the Eastern District, and future Primate of Scotland, read in the name of his Catholic countrymen an address not unworthy of the occasion. "*Filii tui de longe veniunt*," he said. "Distant Scotland, the Ultima Thule, comes forward with the other

Address Pius IX.

[1] Acta Romana: Nota d'Archivio, 19.

nations of the world to offer her homage. Once a most faithful handmaid of the Holy See, up to the time of the great apostasy of the sixteenth century, which among us was brought about more by foreign influence than by national causes, she now begins again to put forth blossoms of faith, and to produce seemly fruits. And when your Holiness shall be pleased to establish among us the ecclesiastical hierarchy, as you have already done in England, there will be given a fresh impulse to religion, and many will return to the faith of their fathers."

The Pope's reply.

The Pope in reply expressed his satisfaction in welcoming so representative and distinguished a body of Scottish Catholics, observing that he was well aware that the literary reputation and noble buildings of the capital of Scotland had gained for it the title of the Modern Athens. However much, he added, he might admire the taste and culture there displayed, he had infinitely more at heart the conversion of the Scottish people. Hitherto he had thought the time not yet ripe for the restoration of the hierarchy in that country; but he cherished the hope that by the intercession of St Margaret, whom he often invoked, and the prayers of the Catholics of Scotland, the happy day might not be far distant.[1]

Preliminary steps taken by

A few months later, in September 1877, it was publicly announced that the necessary negotia-

[1] *Tablet*, 1877, vol. i. p. 627.

tions had already been initiated by the Congregation of Propaganda. Before long Bishop Strain and Archbishop Eyre were summoned to Rome to take part in them; and thither also, at the end of December, came Cardinal Manning, the Archbishop of Westminster, whom a severe illness had detained for the two preceding months at Paris. The progress of affairs was materially facilitated by the arrival of the last-named prelate, who had already, as we have seen, rendered such signal service to the Scottish Church. Propaganda.

The Congregation, in accordance with its traditional method, took into consideration all the arguments both for and against the proposed measure. Bishop Kyle had already submitted a detailed category of the objections to the plan, which may be summarised as follows: 1. The scanty number of Scottish Catholics, and their dispersion, for the most part, among Protestants. 2. Many Catholics were so only in name. 3. A large proportion, notably the Irish, had no fixed domicile, but roamed from place to place, and finally left the country altogether. 4. The poverty of the faithful, most of whom lived by the labour of their hands, barely permitted them to provide for the necessary expenses of the divine service. 5. It was only possible by dint of great efforts to maintain the existing ecclesiastical arrangements, and to meet the heavy debts that weighed upon the mission. 6. The endeav- Bishop Kyle's arguments against the proposed measure. Paucity of Catholics. Their poverty.

our of the Scottish Catholics ought to be to draw closer the ties uniting them with the Holy See, and not to weaken them by the introduction of independent bishops. 7. In conclusion, it would be unwise to leave out of consideration the legal penalties to which their prelates would render themselves liable, by the assumption of territorial titles.[1]

Danger of legal penalties.

Considerations adduced in its favour.

Against these objections to the contemplated change, were adduced on the other side a number of weighty arguments, which may be briefly reduced to the following six points: 1. The measure would be of manifold advantage to the clergy. "The late misunderstandings in Glasgow," wrote a clear-sighted observer, "would never have arisen if the clergy had been properly organised, if the bishops had been invested with the authority belonging to their office, and if both had been fully impressed with the sense of responsibility which a regularly constituted Church imposes on her ministers." 2. Many converts, desirous of devoting themselves to theological studies, repair to England, where they find a fully-organised Church, and thus Scotland suffers serious loss. 3. As far back as 1864, Cardinal Wiseman had written thus to Propaganda: "There is no doubt that the dominant Presbyterianism of the country has had its influence also on the Catholics, who have consequently lost their fervour in many

[1] Acta Romana: Nota d'Archivio, 24, 25.

ways, and in particular show little liking for episcopal rule. I am of opinion that these Presbyterian leanings, which are also not infrequently apparent in the attitude of the priests towards their bishops, would be effectually destroyed by the mere fact of a once more regularly ordered hierarchy." 4. The overwhelming majority of Catholics in the great commercial and manufacturing towns were poor Irish. "In Ireland they are held to the fulfilment of their religious duties by their parish priests, to whom they are bound by inseparable ties. It is these ties which are the safeguard of their faith, and where they are wanting, as in Edinburgh and Glasgow, they lose themselves among Protestants and unbelievers. Without parish priests or bishops, the hold which their religion has upon them is not sufficiently firm." 5. A further important consideration was derived from a reference to the Episcopalian Church in Scotland. It was on the members of this body that the erection of a true ecclesiastical hierarchy might be expected to make the most forcible impression. Their numbers amounted to some 55,000, nearly all belonging to the better classes, and in consequence possessed of considerable influence. A section of the body was known to approximate both in doctrine and in ritual observance to the forms of the Catholic Church; and it seemed as though before long there would be but one point of difference be-

Anticipated effect on the Scottish Episcopalian body.

tween Catholics and themselves — namely, the obedience which the former rendered, and the latter refused, to the Holy See. Under these circumstances the revival of a national hierarchy was greatly to be desired; and indeed, if they retained any longer than was absolutely necessary ecclesiastical designations borrowed from heathen countries, leaving Protestants to usurp the ancient titles, the effect, especially on recent converts, could not but be highly detrimental, and might lead to consequences whose extent it was impossible to foresee.[1]

Question of the episcopal titles.

With regard to the titles of the new bishops, the same difficulty had not now to be contended with as had arisen at the time of the restoration of the hierarchy in England.[2] There the ancient titles were in possession of the Established Church, while in Scotland the Presbyterian was the only form of Christianity recognised by the State. In England, as Cardinal Wiseman had truly observed, only a few over-zealous individuals had showed themselves urgent for the resumption of the ancient episcopal titles, for the sake of the supposed distinction attached to them—a sentiment which could but excite ridicule, if it resulted in no real advantage to the Church. The titles

[1] Acta Romana: Nota d'Archivio, 26-33.

[2] See, for the most authoritative account of that remarkable episode, *History of the Restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy in England*, 1871.

which were selected by the Holy See for the revived Scottish bishoprics were, as a matter of fact, identical, with one exception, with those of the pre-Reformation sees; but the choice was prompted not more by regard for their venerable associations than by a desire to distribute the Catholics most conveniently among the various dioceses. Certain difficulties arose with regard to the fixing of the metropolitan see, the honour of which was claimed alike by Edinburgh and Glasgow. A circumstance in favour of the latter city was the fact of its being the chief seat of the manufactures, commerce, and navigation of the country; while Edinburgh could plead its historic claim to metropolitan rank, and its undisputed position as the centre of the scientific and intellectual life of the nation, and the headquarters both of the civil and ecclesiastical administration. Cardinal Manning supported the claims of Glasgow, Cardinal Wiseman and Bishop Strain were on the side of Edinburgh. As a means of settling the question in dispute, it was proposed to unite the ancient title of St Andrews with that of Edinburgh, giving that see precedence over Glasgow. To the latter city, on the other hand, there was either to be annexed an archbishopric *in partibus infidelium*, or else Glasgow itself was to be erected into an archiepiscopal see, without, however—at least for the time being—any suffragan bishoprics. The latter proposal

Difficulty as to the metropolitan see.

was ultimately adopted, and was subsequently embodied in the bull of erection.[1]

Mode of electing the bishops.

The method of electing the future bishops was also fully discussed in the *Nota d'Archivio*, and in the report of Cardinal Bilio which was based upon it. The appointment of the vicars-apostolic, in accordance with the usual mode of procedure at the Roman Curia, had always been made by the Pope, through the intermediary of the Congregation of Propaganda. If the Scottish bishops had been permitted to recommend suitable persons to the Holy See, this privilege in no sense amounted to a right of election in the canonical sense. Still less could there be any question of such rights in the case of the laity, although laymen of noted piety and influence had not infrequently been consulted by the vicars-apostolic on the question of the choice of fitting persons for the vacant dignities. As regarded the future, it was now the duty of the cardinals to recommend, in the case of the Scottish Church, one or other of the systems of episcopal appointment already approved by the Apostolic See. Three methods of filling such appointments are in vogue in those countries which are ecclesiastically subject to Propaganda. According to the first, the chapter assembles on a see falling vacant, and nominates three candidates by secret vote. The selected names are notified to the metropolitan, or, in

Different methods sanctioned by the Holy See:

1. In England.

[1] Acta Romana: Nota d'Archivio, 38-42.

the event of his see being vacant, to the senior suffragan bishop, who, together with his colleagues, deliberates on the qualifications of the candidates, submitting the result to the Holy See. These acts are expressly declared, by an instruction from Propaganda, dated April 21, 1852, to constitute not a canonical right of election, but simply a recommendation,[1] so that the Supreme Pontiff is at full liberty to pass over the individuals named, and to appoint a more fitting person to the vacant see. In this way Dr Manning, the provost of Westminster, was raised to the archiepiscopate by a *motu proprio* of Pius IX., to the exclusion of the ecclesiastics recommended by the chapter. The method of election followed in Ireland rests on a somewhat wider basis. The parish priests meet along with the canons of the vacant diocese, and select three candidates, whose names are submitted to Propaganda together with the written opinion of the bishops as to whom they deem most worthy to fill the office. The same procedure is followed in the case of the appointment of a coadjutor-bishop.[2] In the United States,[3] Canada, Australia, and—with an insignificant exception—in Nova Scotia, the duty is

2. In Ireland.

3. In the United States and the Colonies.

[1] *Collectio Concil. Lacens.*, tom. iii. p. 958.

[2] Regarding the mode of episcopal election in Ireland, see Brück, *Das irische Veto* (Mayence, 1879), and a paper by the author on the Irish Plenary Council of 1879, in Vering, *Archiv für Kirchenrecht*, vol. xliii. pp. 55 *et seq.*

[3] *Collectio Concil. Lacens.*, tom. iii. pp. 430, 624.

incumbent on the bishops of the province of furnishing every three years to their metropolitan and to Propaganda the names of such persons as they may consider, after due inquiry, to be worthy of the episcopate. On a vacancy occurring, the bishops notify to the metropolitan the names of those whom they recommend to fill it; they then meet under his presidency, and the list of candidates is finally settled. Hitherto the system to be adopted in the case of Scotland does not appear to have been fixed: in England, and also in Holland, several years were allowed to elapse after the restoration of the hierarchy before the issue of particular instructions for the decision of this question.[1] Nor has any final resolution been arrived at by the Congregation as to the erection of cathedral chapters on the English model. The author of the report to Propaganda expressed himself strongly in favour of such a measure—one which has been forcibly opposed by the North American bishops—both for historical and canonical reasons, and recommended its adoption in the organisation of the Scottish hierarchy.[2] An additional point, re-

Erection of chapters,

[1] The method of episcopal election now prescribed for Scotland is, in cases where chapters have been canonically erected, practically identical with that in use in England. Where there are no chapters, the election is in the hands of the bishops, who vote three several times, and transmit the names of the candidates to Propaganda in the order corresponding to the number of votes given to each.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] The cathedral chapter of Glasgow (for a provost and eleven

specting the erection of regularly constituted parishes, was held in reserve.[1] and of canonical parishes.

The support of the Scottish episcopate is derived, as in England and the United States, chiefly from the pious offerings of the faithful. In addition to this must not be forgotten the allowance made by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, the annual grant from which source to the Northern, Western, and Eastern Vicariates amounted to £380, £306, and £390 respectively. The vicars-apostolic expressed their willingness that some deduction should ultimately be made from these amounts for the benefit of the new sees. For the same object provision was made that, for the present, a yearly *cathedraticum* of £10 should be paid by every priest in charge of a mission, the curates contributing £2 each. A collection was besides to be annually made, the proceeds of which were to be allowed to accumulate until an income of £400, from all sources, was secured. The Congregation of Propaganda had also hitherto been accustomed to make an annual grant of £200 to the vicars-apostolic. From what has been said, it will be seen that the life of the Scottish prelates is one of poverty, and that they are but barely able to meet the claims which must naturally be Means of support of the episcopate.

canons) was erected on Jan. 3, 1884; and that of St Andrews and Edinburgh (for a similar number) on Dec. 23, 1885.—Translator.

[1] Acta Romana: Nota d'Archivio, 42-52.

made on a Catholic bishop, on whom St Paul enjoins the virtue of hospitality, and who at his consecration replies in the affirmative to the question, "Wilt thou show thyself kind and compassionate, for the Lord's sake, to the poor and to strangers, and to all who are in need?"[1]

Final result of the negotiations.

The result of the preliminary negotiations, of which we have endeavoured to give the outline, was that on March 4, 1878, Pope Leo XIII. issued his bull *Ex supremo Apostolatus apice*, by which was effected the restoration of the hierarchy in Scotland.[2]

[1] *Pontificale Romanum.* De Consecr. Electi in Episcopum.

[2] *Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini Domini* LEONIS, *divina Providentia Papæ XIII. litteræ apostolicæ, quibus hierarchia episcopalis in Scotia restituitur.* Romæ, MDCCCLXXVIII. See Appendix XIX.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BULL OF POPE LEO XIII., *EX SUPREMO APOSTOLATUS APICE,* MARCH 4, 1878.

Bull restoring the Scottish hierarchy.

THIS important document may be divided into two parts, the first being mainly historical, while the latter is of a judicial or directive character. In the former reference is made to the beginnings of Christianity in Scotland, under SS. Ninian and Palladius, to the flourishing state of the Church under the holy queen Margaret, to its downfall at the time of the schism of the sixteenth century, and, finally, to the constant efforts made by the Holy See to watch over and consolidate the faithful remnant left in the kingdom after the overthrow of the old religion. The Pope, it is added, seeing on the one hand the wonderful increase in recent times in the number of the faithful, of priests, churches, missions, religious houses, and similar institutions, and on the other the complete liberty now enjoyed by the Church in Scotland, deems that the time has now come for restoring to her the normal ecclesiastical

government. The bull then proceeds to enact as follows:

Its provisions.

1. The hierarchy is to consist of two archbishoprics, St Andrews and Edinburgh, and Glasgow; and four bishoprics, Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Whithorn or Galloway, and Argyle and the Isles. 2. The four latter sees are to be suffragans of St Andrews; the Archbishop of Glasgow, on the other hand, is to enjoy the archiepiscopal title and honour, but no other rights of an archbishop or metropolitan; and, so long as he is without suffragans, he is to attend the Provincial Council with the other bishops. 3. According to the Constitution of Sixtus V., *Romanus Pontifex,* the bishops must visit the tombs of the Apostles every fourth year; and they must duly report to Propaganda on the condition of their several dioceses. 4. They shall enjoy all those rights and privileges which, according to the common law and the Apostolic Constitutions, appertain to bishops. 5. Whatever peculiar statutes, privileges, or customs were formerly in force are hereby abolished. The new prelates are charged to make such decrees as are authorised by the common law and general discipline of the Church; and the same ample faculties are to be continued to them as were enjoyed heretofore by the vicars-apostolic. The Pope now proceeded to fill up the newly erected sees by naming to the archbishopric of St Andrews Mgr. Strain, former

Nominations to the new sees.

vicar-apostolic of the Eastern District, and to that of Glasgow Archbishop Eyre. Bishop Macdonald, the northern vicar-apostolic, was appointed to Aberdeen; and John M'Lachlan, George Rigg, and Angus Macdonald to the sees of Galloway, Dunkeld, and Argyle and the Isles respectively. In a consistory, held on March 28, 1878, the Holy Father announced the happy event to the assembled cardinals in the following words: "We rejoice, Venerable Brethren, that it fell to our lot to satisfy the fervent desires of our beloved children in Christ, the clergy and faithful of Scotland, whose devotion towards the Catholic Church, and towards the Chair of Peter, has been manifested by many and most signal proofs. And we firmly trust that this work, now accomplished by the Holy See, will be crowned by joyful fruits, and that, under the protecting care of the Patron Saints of Scotland, it will be the case more and more in that region, that her mountains will be clothed with peace, and her hills with righteousness for her people." [1]

Public opinion on the Papal act.

In no country, at least of the Old World, has the newspaper press attained to such influence, in none does it wield so great a power for good or

[1] See *The Tablet*, 1878, vol. i. p. 435. Pasquale de Franciscis, *Discorsi del Sommo Pontefice Leone XIII.* Roma, 1882, tom. i. p. 33. "Firmiterque confidimus fore, ut opus ab Apostolica Sede perfectum, lætis fructibus cumuletur, et cœlestibus Scotiæ patronis suffragantibus, in ea regione in dies magis suscipiant montes pacem populo et colles justitiam."

for evil, as in England. No event of any importance can take place on the stage of public life without being submitted to the judgment of the public journals. Thus, we find the erection of the Scottish hierarchy commented on, in the columns of the daily papers both in England and Scotland, with a frankness and freedom from prejudice, which contrast refreshingly with the sophistical and unprincipled attacks, systematically directed by the German press, since 1873, against the teaching and policy of the Church.

The newspaper press and the new hierarchy.

"Since it pleases the Pope," wrote the *Glasgow Herald*, on September 6, 1877, "to call the bishops, who hold spiritual sway over the Roman Catholics sojourning in her midst, by titles taken from her ancient cities, she [Scotland] will allow him to do so, since it gives him pleasure, and does her no harm. Scotland will not for a moment deem that her liberties, civil or religious, are endangered, if Archbishop Eyre calls himself Archbishop of Glasgow. . . . If Pius IX. re-establishes the Roman Catholic hierarchy in this country, he will only act in accordance with the principle which has always guided the Roman See." The unseemly invectives with which the Rev. Dr Begg denounced the act of the Holy See drew down on him a scathing rebuke from the *Scotsman*,[1] together with an inquiry as to whether he was ignorant of the utter fiasco which had

[1] Nov. 23, 1877.

resulted from the enactment of the law against ecclesiastical titles in England. The same journal characterised the restoration of the hierarchy as a purely internal act of the Catholic Church, and one with which Protestants had no concern.[1] The *Times*, while admitting into its columns a letter on the subject couched in somewhat violent terms, nevertheless took the writer severely to task for the views he expressed, and frankly admitted that the projected change of ecclesiastical government was in strict accordance with the canon law. Nothing was to be gained by legislation against the measure; and the wise conclusion was come to that "the Pope may do just what he likes in this matter." The result would probably be that many of those already half-way to Rome would pass over to that communion; but beyond this there was no cause for alarm. The *Glasgow Herald*, in somewhat similar terms, expressed the opinion that the erection of the hierarchy would doubtless prove a new incentive to wavering Protestants, of every class, to seek admission into the Roman Church. An article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* took occasion to warn Catholics against the delusion of regarding the Papal act as a triumph of their Church in Scotland. The increase of shepherds did not necessarily betoken an increase in the flock. The chief interest attaching to the matter, from the writer's point of

[1] Sept. 22, 1877.

view, was the striking proof that it afforded of the progress of religious tolerance.

Passive attitude of Scottish Protestants.

The anticipations generally entertained, that the people of Scotland would preserve an entirely passive attitude in reference to the contemplated act of the Pope, were fully realised. The daily press was, it is true, called upon to record the holding of a few isolated demonstrations, which betokened that the uncompromising spirit of the old Covenanters was not altogether extinct. These manifestations, however, could bear no comparison with the outburst of popular fanaticism which had been witnessed eight-and-twenty years before, when Pius IX. was charged with assailing the English constitution, "by means not of an armada, but of a single sheet of paper." At that time, as is well known, the walls of Parliament, and of every public hall in England, rang with the wildest denunciations of the head of the Catholic Church, and Lord John Russell addressed to the Bishop of Durham the famous letter, bristling with misrepresented and distorted facts, which long served as the manifesto of the more violent party among Anglican Churchmen. The Scottish Protestants declined to follow a precedent at once so undignified and so useless, and the Papal act of 1878 was suffered to pass unopposed.[1] Towards

[1] One champion of the Free Church did, it is true, announce in the General Assembly that he had telegraphed to the Pope to the follow-

the end of March of that year, an interesting document was published by the *Scotsman*, in the shape of a legal opinion pronounced by the leading Scottish counsel, the Dean of Faculty (Mr Fraser) and Mr Taylor Innes, on the state of the actual law as affecting the restored hierarchy. Both expressed their belief that the recent act was contrary to the statute law of Scotland, but they held, at the same time, that no pains or penalties were incurred by the prelates adopting the titles conferred on them by the Pope. "Though we are of opinion," the document concludes, "that the Pope's jurisdiction is abolished in Scotland, and that he can confer none on any bishop in Scotland, yet no one can, by process of interdict, declarator, or otherwise, prevent the establishment of the proposed hierarchy, or the assumption of titles by the Pope's bishops. All that the law does is to refuse recognition of such titles. A court of law would dismiss an action brought in the name of a person calling himself a bishop in virtue of the Pope's letters, or at all events would order such designation to be struck out of a summons or other legal writ."[1]

Opinion of leading counsel on the subject.

On April 13, 1878, the prelates of the Scotch

ing effect: "If your projected hierarchy is proclaimed in Scotland, proceedings will be taken against you in the Court of Session." This piece of intelligence, however, was unfeelingly received with "loud laughter," and nothing more was heard of the threatened litigation. —Translator.

[1] *Tablet*, 1878, vol. i. p. 387.

Protest of the Scotch Episcopalians.

Episcopalian body published a formal protest against the Pontifical bull by which the hierarchy was restored in Scotland. This curious document runs as follows: "In the name of God, Amen. Whereas we, the undersigned bishops, occupy by Divine permission the ancient sees of the Church of Scotland, claiming none other authority and jurisdiction than such as were claimed and exercised by the bishops of the primitive Church, before any of the kingdoms of this world became the kingdoms of our God and His Christ; and teaching the faith once delivered to the Saints (and none other), as it is contained in Holy Scripture, and defined by the Œcumenical Synods of the undivided Church of Christ; and whereas the Bishop of Rome, who neither hath nor ought to have any authority or jurisdiction, ecclesiastical or spiritual, in this realm, hath, on the plea of a pretended universal supremacy over the Church of Christ, intruded prelates of his own appointment into sees occupied by us; and whereas it is the law of primitive episcopacy, as instituted by the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, that all bishops in the Church of Christ are of the same order and hold the same apostolic office, and that for any one of them to claim universal supremacy is to usurp the office of the Lord Himself; and whereas, also, it is according to canonical rule and the order of the Catholic Church that there should be but one bishop in the same see, so that

the intrusion of a second bishop into a see already occupied is a violation of the law of unity, and a rending of the body of Christ : we, therefore, the bishops aforesaid," &c.[1]

We need not dwell on the extraordinary confusion of ideas, both theological and historical, which underlies this singular protest. It is difficult to understand how its compilers could thus ignore the indisputable fact that the body which they represented, so far from having any relations whatever with the ancient Church, owed its existence to the ecclesiastical whims of the Stuart kings, who imposed by main force on the Scottish people a form of church government to which the great majority was, and still is, invincibly opposed. The primary function of the Anglican Establishment has been defined to be that of representing the spiritual element amid the constantly changing opinions of the day, not of administering sacraments or deciding questions of faith ;[2] and she has been described by the leading organ of Church and State in England as " exactly suited to the English people, and reflecting their peculiarities and prejudices."[3] The same may be said in its degree of the Episcopalian body in Scotland, and the Duke of Argyll was probably right in attributing most of the accessions to that communion which have taken place during the last

[1] *The Times*, April 22, 1878.

[2] See Köstlin, *Die Schottische Kirche*, p. 179.

[3] *Standard* (cited in *The Tablet*, 1878, vol. ii. p. 39).

two centuries, in some cases to the "fancy of belonging to a more fashionable religious body, and in many more to the associations of English academical education." [1]

Phases of Presbyterianism.

Like its Anglican sister, the Established Church of Scotland has in the course of time passed through many and various phases. Were the fathers of the Scottish Reformation, John Knox or Andrew Melville, to rise from their graves, and witness the modern development of the doctrines which they taught and the discipline which they upheld, they could hardly do otherwise than disown their nineteenth-century followers. For nigh on three centuries the Kirk has expended her forces in the two battle-fields of Episcopalianism and ecclesiastical patronage, and she requires all her remaining strength to defend herself against the deadly influence of the naturalism and materialism of the present day. All through the history of Scottish Protestantism the vexed question of church patronage runs like a thread, bearing witness to the indefinable attraction which such disciplinary questions have ever possessed for the mind of the Scot. Of the thousand parishes into which Scotland was divided at the time of the Reformation, no less than seven hundred are said to have been bestowed on religious and ecclesiastical corporations.[2] The First Book of Discipline

The patronage question.

[1] *Edinburgh Review*, 1852, p. 477.

[2] Cunningham, *Church Hist. of Scotland* (1859), vol. ii. p. 356.

asserted the right of the people, and of every individual parish, to choose their own minister. Parliament, however, did not recognise this claim: on the contrary, while conceding to the Church the right of examining and instituting its ministers, it enacted that the patronage should remain in the hands of those who had formerly exercised it. The system underwent a fundamental change through the operation of the Act of Annexation, passed under James VI. in 1587. This provided that all ecclesiastical rights and property, as to which there had been as yet no formal legislation, and which were still in the possession of beneficiaries, either lay or clerical, should pass to the Crown. King James, like the old Merovingian monarchs, bestowed a large portion of this Church property, including much to which the ancient patronal rights were still annexed, on his principal subjects.[1] In this way a great deal of patronage came into the hands of laymen, many of whom were opponents of Presbyterianism, and in favour of the episcopal

Patronage under James VI.

"When the rage to found and endow monasteries was epidemic in our country, many patrons bestowed their parishes upon Religious Houses, generally upon condition that a specified number of masses should be annually said for their souls, and the souls of their wives, their parents, their children, and their friends. Others gave their parishes to enrich a bishopric, which was perhaps at the time held by a relative. To such an extent was this system carried, that at the time of the Reformation, out of the thousand parishes of Scotland, about seven hundred had been thus appropriated."

[1] Köstlin, *Die Schottische Kirche*, p. 107.

form of government. Thus the question of patronage came to be ultimately connected with the constant warfare between the rival systems, insomuch that, when the Presbyterian polity was dominant for the time, the rights of patrons were abolished, only to be revived in full force when Episcopalianism again gained the upper hand.

When King James, after his accession to the English throne, had succeeded in establishing the Episcopalian system in his native country, it was ordered by Parliament that patrons should direct to the bishops their presentations to vacant benefices.[1] The plan was skilfully devised for the strengthening of the episcopal influence, but its success was short-lived. For hardly did Presbyterianism feel itself secured, by the sanction of the Westminster Confession, from the attacks of the Crown, than it proceeded, in 1649, to abolish patronage altogether, as being unauthorised by the Word of God, and a relic of times of ignorance and superstition. Henceforth the ministers were to be instituted by the presbyteries, on receiving a "call" from the congregation, on whom no minister was to be imposed without their own consent. Twenty years later, Charles II., declining to profit by the lessons of past history, gave back to the

Abolition of patronage, 1649.

[1] Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 357. "By Acts of Assembly and Acts of Parliament, patrons were now instructed to direct their presentations to the bishop of the diocese where the vacant benefice was. If the patron did not present, the bishop was empowered to do so."

patrons their former privilege; but no sooner was William of Orange, with his Calvinistic sympathies, seated on the throne than they found themselves compelled, in return for a small compensation, to hand over their newly restored rights to the elders and *heritors*, or chief landed proprietors, of the respective parishes. Under William's sister-in-law and successor, Queen Anne, the Whig Ministry succeeded, after violent opposition, in carrying through the legislative union of England and Scotland; but scarcely was this achieved than the Tories took advantage of the queen's predilection for Episcopalianism to press for the restoration of the old system. In 1712 their efforts were crowned with success: the Crown, as well as all persons who had been formerly entitled to exercise patronal rights, was solemnly confirmed in the same, and the presbyteries were directed duly to receive the ministers thus nominated. Such a measure as this could not but inflict a blow on Presbyterianism from which it could not easily recover. On the other hand, there was now in process of formation within the Church itself a school of thought whose tendency was to show more and more subservience to the influence of the State.

Under the monarchs of the house of Hanover, we find developing slowly but steadily in the Scotch Establishment the so-called system of the *Moderates*, whose policy may be briefly described

Rise of the *Moderates*.

as one tending to smooth down the asperities of the ancient Kirk, and to accommodate itself to the spirit of the age, and to the requirements of the civil power. As far as disciplinary matters were concerned, the effect of these opinions was of course to strengthen the influence of the State in ecclesiastical affairs, and to undermine the original democratic constitution of the Kirk; while from a doctrinal point of view their tendency was towards a relaxation of the rigid theories of Calvin, and the adoption by the clergy of the milder Arminian system, or of undisguisedly rationalistic views. No express mention had been made, in the Act of 1712, of the *call* which had hitherto been an indispensable condition of every ministerial appointment. It had thus by degrees fallen into disuse, and the presentations made by the patrons were uniformly upheld by the General Assembly, the supreme spiritual court, often in spite of the remonstrances of the congregations concerned. This line of action, enhancing as it did the influence of the civil power at the expense of the ecclesiastical authority, was the occasion of more than one movement of secession in the eighteenth century, as in 1733 and 1752; but it was not until a hundred years later that the contest with regard to patronage broke out with fresh violence, resulting ultimately in that wholesale exodus from the Establishment which began in 1843, spread rapidly over the whole country,

Disruption from the Established Church, 1843.

and ended in the erection of hundreds of new parishes, churches, and schools throughout Scotland. Ten years previous to this remarkable movement, the General Assembly had attempted to modify the *call* system in a manner consonant to the requirements of the time, by passing the so-called Veto Act, which provided that the call was to be subscribed by a majority of heads of families in the congregation; and if these declared themselves against the individual presented by the patron, the presbytery was to refuse to institute him. The Court of Session, however, the highest legal tribunal in Scotland, absolutely declined to sanction this enactment, as did also the English House of Lords, to which the General Assembly appealed. Such was the only reward gained from the State by Dr Robertson and his colleagues, the leaders of the Moderate party, in return for their well-meant efforts to harmonise the disciplinary theories of Presbyterianism with the laws of the country.

The Veto Act.

The result of the great secession from the Established Church, of which we have spoken, was the formation of what is now known as the Free Church of Scotland—a body whose adherents are said to be yearly increasing, and whose zeal and activity in the dissemination of religious literature, and in the education of youth, render it a formidable competitor with the Establishment. Three principal denominations thus share between

Strength of the Free Church.

them Presbyterian Scotland: the State Church, the United Presbyterian, and the Free. The first may claim to be of John Knox's own foundation, the second dates from the middle of the eighteenth century, and the Free Church, as we have said, had its origin in 1843.

Religious divisions in Scotland.

It is impossible to peruse the accounts of the proceedings of the representatives of these different bodies, at their annual assemblies in Edinburgh, without feeling that they are in truth widely separated one from the other. A committee of the General Assembly of the Established Church was appointed in 1878, with a mandate to ascertain what prospect there was of the project of a union between the three Churches being realised. The United Presbyterian Synod officially declared in the following year that "in accordance with the principles and history of their Church, it was impossible for them to contemplate sharing with the Established Church the trust reposed in it by the State."[1] As to the Free Church, nothing can be clearer than the fact that that body has in no degree receded from the position which it took up nearly fifty years ago, in respect to the question of repudiating all kind of civil interference with religion.[2] In other words, the gulf which separates these

[1] *Edinburgh Daily Review.* Report of United Presbyterian Synod, May 9, 1879.

[2] *Ibid.* Report of Free Church General Assembly, May 31, 1879.

three religious denominations seems to be even more impassable in our own day than it was forty years ago. The division between them, to use the words of Professor Calderwood, is to all appearances an evil that does not admit of remedy.

The Established Church and the State.

Notwithstanding the large extent to which the Presbyterian Church of Scotland has always enjoyed the support of the State, two blows have been inflicted upon her in recent years, which her opponents assert to be only preparatory to complete disestablishment. These are the abolition by Parliament, at the instance of Mr M'Laren, of the annuity-tax, formerly levied from other denominations in favour of the State religion; and, secondly, the Act rendering the publication of banns in the parish church no longer compulsory.[1] A still more important crisis in the fortunes of the Church of Scotland is at present impending, in the shape of the bill introduced into the House of Commons by Mr Dick Peddie, for her disestablishment and disendowment.[2]

Fluctuations of Scottish Protestantism.

Looking back over the past history of Scottish Protestantism, the observer is struck by the singular and disedifying spectacle of an almost continuous process of change in the constitution of the Church. No less than ten times has it been altered in the course of the last three

[1] See *ante*, pp. 278, 279.

[2] Since the above was written, the party of disestablishment has been powerfully reinforced by the accession to their ranks of the veteran Liberal leader, Mr Gladstone.—TRANSLATOR.

centuries,[1] and we are warned by competent judges to look for changes still more vital in the immediate future. "Reformation, restoration, revolution, disruption — such are the four key-notes," remarks Dr Wordsworth, the Scottish-Anglican Bishop of St Andrews, "which mark the four great epochs of our Scottish Church history downwards from the middle of the sixteenth century. And whether or no we shall have occasion to add to them a fifth—viz., disestablishment — will, in all probability, be seen ere long. If the Reformation had done its work wisely and effectually, there would have been no need for rebellion first and restoration afterwards. . . . If the Restoration had done *its* work wisely and effectually, there would have been no occasion for the Revolution afterwards. . . . If the Revolution had done fully and effectually what it undertook to do, the fatal move-

[1] In Mr Lawson's edition of Keith's *Affairs of Church and State* (vol. iii. p. 88) is given the following summary of the changes referred to:

1.	The Knoxian or Superintendent system .	1560–1571.
2.	The Tulchan system	1571–1590.
3.	The Melvillian or Presbyterian system .	1590–1603.
4.	Titular or nominal Episcopacy . . .	1603–1610.
5.	Pure Episcopacy	1610–1639.
6.	Presbyterianism restored	1639–1650.
7.	Presbyterianism divided into Resolutioners and Protesters	1650–1661.
8.	Pure Episcopacy restored	1661–1688.
9.	Presbyterianism restored	1688–1843.
10.	Disruption, and foundation of Free Church	1843.

ment which ended in disruption would have been unknown."[1]

A more decisive condemnation of the revolt from the ancient Church in the sixteenth century than these words convey can with difficulty be imagined. A leading Anglican dignitary has not hesitated to characterise as "seceders" the adherents of the Episcopalian body in Scotland;[2] but if the theory of Bishop Wordsworth be correct, the term may be applied with at least equal justice to all those who abandoned the religion of their fathers.

Subdivisions of Protestant sects.

Besides the three leading denominations of which we have spoken, the comprehensive Protestantism of Scotland includes numerous smaller sects. One list, which does not pretend to be exhaustive, enumerates these lesser religious bodies as follows: Irvingites, Rowites, Voluntaries, Vetoists, Strathbogites, Free Kirk Adherents, Drummondites, English Episcopalians, Scotch Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Reformed Presbyterians, Evangelical Unionists, United Original Seceders, simple Presbyterians, Adherents of the Gospel Church, Catholic Apostolics, the Church of John Knox, the Church of the New Jerusalem, Old Scottish Independents, Chartists, Socialists, Secularists, Waddelites, Knightites, &c., &c.[3]

[1] Wordsworth, *Discourse on Scottish Church History*, pp. 43, 44.
[2] Stanley, *Lectures on the Church of Scotland*, pp. 149, 169, 172.
[3] Walsh, *Hist. of the Cath. Church in Scotland*, p. 562.

Each of these sects maintains certain theological views of its own, more or less sharply defined, and more or less distinct from those of the rest. It must be remembered that the whole dogmatic system of Presbyterianism has undergone fundamental changes since its original evolution three centuries ago. Calvinism, properly so called, can no longer pretend to have that hold on the Scottish mind which was formerly claimed for it.[1] For more than two hundred years the gloomy doctrines of Geneva reigned supreme in Scotland: they were laid down in the oldest authoritative formulas of the Church, and received the solemn sanction of the Westminster Conference. But in the middle of the last century the influence of the Moderatist party helped to bring about that reaction which tended to favour the Arminian teaching, and to acknowledge at least some degree of freedom in the will of man. It is hardly with justice that this system has been charged with being unphilosophic: on the contrary, it was in the system of Calvin that the utter misconception of the nature of the human soul, and the anti-philosophic spirit which characterised the pioneers of Protestantism, reached their highest development. Philosophic speculation can never be entirely suppressed; but unless it be directed by the

Modification of the original Calvinism.

[1] *Cf.* Cunningham, *Church Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 140. "But besides this, Calvinism is native to the Scottish mind. The land which has produced so many metaphysicians could scarcely content itself with the plausible but unphilosophic system of Arminius."

light of faith, it will surely be led astray by the *ignis fatuus* of human error. Under the influence of the English and Scottish philosophy, the empiricism of Locke, the deism of Tindal, and the scepticism of Hume, the supremacy of the once dominant theology of Calvin was for ever destroyed, and the door was opened wide to the new rationalistic spirit of the day. The reaction due to the school of thought inaugurated by Reid and his followers had no lasting fruits.[1] In proof of the extent to which the Presbyterian Churches have been penetrated by rationalistic views, we may refer to the recent cases of Professor Smith of Aberdeen, and the United Presbyterian minister, Mr Ferguson. The former (after being acquitted by his own presbytery) was convicted, before the highest spiritual tribunal, of having contested the authenticity of the Pentateuch, and propounded erroneous views as to the inspiration of the sacred books. Mr Ferguson, a minister of Glasgow, was accused of having written in a sense opposed to the Westminster Confession, of having modified the orthodox doctrine of predestination, and of having expounded the Christian mysteries in language borrowed from modern philosophy. Suspended by his presbytery, he was rehabilitated by the Synod, but under the obligation of demonstrating the agreement of his sermons and writings with the Confession, and of refrain

Rise of the rationalistic spirit.

Scottish heresy cases.

[1] See Stöckl, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, pp. 618-648.

ing for the future from his unconventional modes of expression. The narrow majority, in the first of these cases, of twenty votes out of six hundred, together with the fact that the most learned men in the country espoused the cause of the condemned professor, and appealed on his behalf to the scientific results of Continental exegesis, sufficiently testify to the spirit prevalent in the Churches. Smith, who took his stand entirely on the most advanced German Biblical criticism of the day, was relieved of his professorship two years later.

Proposed revision of the Presbyterian formularies.

Among the theological questions which have come prominently forward in the Scottish Protestant Churches in recent years, have been the proposed revision of the formularies, and the denial of the doctrine of eternal punishment. "Is the Anglican Church worth preserving?" is the inquiry which Mr Gladstone has lately deemed it opportune to address to his fellow-churchmen in England; and in the bosom of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland has simultaneously been raised the not less momentous question, "Is the Westminster Confession of Faith worth revising?"[1] Mr Macrae, a minister of the United Presbyterian body, has openly asserted that in its teaching as to predestination, the impossibility of man once justified losing divine grace, and the eternal condemna-

[1] *Is the Westminster Confession of Faith worth revising?* By Philalethes (Glasgow, 1877).

tion of those outside the Church,[1] the Confession is in direct opposition to Holy Writ. He charged his brethren in the ministry with not believing the doctrines to whose truth they had solemnly subscribed, and he quoted in illustration these words of the Confession: "It is very pernicious, and to be detested, to assert that men not professing the Christian religion can be saved in any other way whatsoever, be they ever so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature and the law of that religion they do profess."[2] "I call on the fathers and brethren of this presbytery," exclaimed Mr Macrae in holy zeal, "to acknowledge honestly if that is the theology which they profess to hold." In truth, if, as is universally allowed, the belief of Presbyterians of to-day does differ in important points from the teaching of the Confession of Westminster, the demand that this discrepancy should be publicly recognised seems no more than reasonable. And the General Assembly virtually admitted this, by issuing in 1879 a so-called Declaratory Statement, by which the rigid Calvinistic doctrine of predestination was materially modified.

Attacks on the dogma of eternal punishment.

Not only the doctrine just referred to, but also that which teaches the eternity of the punishment of hell, has been strenuously attacked, both in

[1] "The heathen in mass . . . are evidently strangers to God and going down to death."

[2] *Westminster Confession* (ed. 1877), ch. x. sect. 4.

England and Scotland, in our own days.[1] In this connection also Mr Macrae has come forward as the representative of popular rationalism against the teaching of the Bible; and not content with explaining away the words of Scripture, has specially emphasised the extraordinary discrepancies which he professes to have discovered between the teaching of the Westminster Confession and of Holy Writ. Nor is such a contradiction by any means so improbable as it might at first sight appear. For can there, in truth, be any room for a belief in the eternity of punishment in the genuine system of Calvin? Does not that system, in its teaching on predestination, do away with the freedom, and consequently with the responsibility of the human will? "No responsibility," it has been justly argued,[2] "requires the denial of guilt; and the denial of guilt is equivalent to the denial of sin. If no responsibility nor sin, then there can be no punishment, for punishment is the wages of sin. If no punishment for sin, then there is no hell. If there be no sin nor hell, then there is no Saviour; for the object of a Saviour is to deliver men from sin and hell." In 1882, the General Assembly of the Free Church sat in judgment on a work by Professor Bruce, entitled 'The Chief End of Revelation,' which

[1] See, on this question, an excellent article in the *Dublin Review*, Jan. 1881, pp. 116-145.

[2] Munro, *Calvinism in its relations to Scripture and Reason* (1856), p. 192.

was alleged to attack the authority of Holy Scripture; but they were unable to come to any practical conclusion regarding it.[1]

Decay of religion in Scotland.

That under such circumstances as these religion must inevitably lose all influence on the masses, is evident at the first glance. At a meeting, some ten years ago, of the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh, Mr Gall referred to a recent report received on the state of the lower classes, from which it appeared that "evangelical religion was losing ground in the city, and the agencies at present in operation were altogether inadequate to the necessities of the case: for every step they had taken, the enemy had taken two, so that if the same process should continue to go on, nothing could be more certain than that, in two or three generations, Protestant Christianity would be substantially put down."[2] The *Scotsman* wrote in similar terms. "That the old Protestant Churches are losing their hold upon great masses of the population is a complaint that comes from all quarters of Christendom. From Germany comes a wail of despair, from England a cry of alarm, and now the coronach is raised in the metropolis of 'Bible-loving' Scotland itself." The language

[1] *Glasgow Herald*, May 26, 1882.

[2] Marshall, *Protestant Journalism*, p. 28. This powerful writer, a convert to Catholicism, whose acquaintance with the religious views of his countrymen, and power of analysing their expression in the contemporary press, were alike remarkable, died in December 1877.

of Mr Gall sufficiently indicates in what direction he detected signs of real progress. "The most alarming circumstance of all," he declared, "was the steady progress of Romanism, which, during the past fifty years, from being almost nothing, had succeeded in planting itself as a great religious and political power in our land. . . . Drunkenness, infidelity, and Sabbath-breaking were all on the increase, but perhaps none of these was to be so much dreaded as Romanism."[1] Expressions such as these cannot but recall to our minds the pithy comment made by Hugh Miller on Lord George Gordon and his vandal mob: "Good Protestants, but bad Christians."

Position and prospects of the Catholic Church in Scotland.

In singular contrast with the eccentricities and errors of these humanly invented religious systems, the ancient Apostolic Church stands forth once more in all the majesty and beauty of her restored organisation. The act by which Leo XIII. revived the normal government of the Scottish Church was a link which reunited her with the pre-Reformation period of her history. The influence which her episcopate wielded for upwards of a thousand years, and which three centuries ago was shattered, as it seemed for ever, by the machinations of the evil one, is once more in active and fruitful operation. What the ancient Church of Scotland believed, practised, and taught, that is believed, practised, and taught by Scottish

[1] Marshall, *Protestant Journalism*, p. 29.

Catholics to-day. Let there but be granted to the Church that liberty of action, that air and light which are the indispensable conditions of her being, and she cannot fail to deliver the people of Scotland anew from the bonds of error, of unbelief, and of intemperance, in which they have so long been held. Let clergy and people but preserve their union unbroken, and Scotland may yet look forward with confidence to the same splendid results which, alike in England, Holland, America, and Australia, have followed the restoration of the hierarchy, and which form some of the brightest pages in the religious history of our times.

Material condition of the Church.

The Scottish Church is, it is true, but poorly provided with this world's goods. We have seen how, three hundred years ago, her extensive possessions fell a prey to the nobles and the preachers of the new gospel. But although the spoliated property of the Church and the poor has brought, as history abundantly testifies,[1] little profit—nay, rather, disaster and calamity—to its new possessors, yet the Church herself has been thus freed from a burden which had grown in the course of centuries to be a serious hindrance to the fruitfulness of her labours. Catholicism in Scotland has to-day little to fear in this respect. At the same time, in direct proportion to the vigorous growth

[1] For detailed evidence of this, see Sir Henry Spelman's *History and Fate of Sacrilege*, edited by two Anglican clergymen (1846).

of her spiritual life is the certainty that material support will not be wanting to her. The recent history of the Scottish Church affords no more striking illustration of this truth than in the foundation of the great Benedictine Abbey of Fort-Augustus, on the shores of Loch Ness, in Inverness-shire. Called into existence through the munificence of Lord Lovat and other benefactors not less generous, this remarkable institution, which challenges comparison with the finest monasteries of medieval times, is at once a centre of religious life and a seat of education and instruction of youth. By a brief, dated December 12, 1882, it was raised by Leo XIII. to the rank of an abbey, immediately subject to the Holy See.[1]

The Abbey of Fort-Augustus.

Among the latest proofs given by Leo XIII. of his solicitude for the welfare of the Scottish Church was the publication, on May 7, 1881, of the important bull *Romanos Pontifices.* The regulations issued by Benedict XIV. for the English mission had long ceased to suffice for the requirements of modern times. There can be no room for doubt that the flourishing condition to which the Church in Great Britain has attained since 1829 is very largely due to the indefatigable

Seculars and Regulars. The Bull *Romanos Pontifices.*

[1] The abbey of Fort-Augustus was selected in 1886 as the most fitting spot for the assembly of the first national council of the restored hierarchy. In 1888 the first abbot (the Right Rev. Leo Linse) received the solemn benediction at the hands of Archbishop Persico, in presence of a large assembly of prelates, clergy, and laity.—TRANSLATOR.

labours of the religious orders; nor would it be rash to assert that without the support of those bodies the bishops would have found it impossible to satisfy the spiritual wants of the faithful. The prominent part thus taken in the labours of the mission by these orders rendered it inevitable that a number of circumstances should arise, in which the interests of secular and regular clergy would be more or less in conflict. The rights of both parties were defined by the Pope in the bull already mentioned, of whose principal provisions the following is a summary.[1]

1. Regulars residing on the mission enjoy the same privileges of exemption as those living within the monastery, except in certain cases expressly provided for, and, generally speaking, in everything concerning the cure of souls and the administration of the sacraments. 2. Members of religious orders, if missionary rectors or curates, are bound to attend the conferences of the clergy. 3. They are also required to assist at the diocesan synods. 4. They have the right of appealing, under certain restrictions,[2] against the episcopal interpretation of synodal decrees. 5. In the subdivision of

[1] *Sanctissimi D. N. Leonis XIII. Constitutio, qua nonnulla controversiarum capita inter episcopos et missionarios regulares Angliæ et Scotiæ definiuntur.* The text of the bull was printed in *Der Katholik*, 1881, vol. i. p. 618-638.

[2] When the question is one which touches the common law of the Church, the appeal is said to be *in devolutivo—i.e.*, the law continues to bind until otherwise decided by the Holy See: in the case of new and special laws (affecting regulars), the appeal is *in suspen-*

canonically erected parishes, the bishop is bound to observe the formalities required by the Council of Trent;[1] in the case of ordinary missions he may proceed to act after taking the advice of his chapter.[2] The opinion of the rector of the mission should first be taken in the matter. 6. The bishop is under no circumstances obliged to appoint a regular to the charge of the newly elected mission. 7. The bishop has the right of supervision and visitation of the primary schools in missions served by regulars; but the privileges of the latter in respect to schools and colleges for higher education are and remain intact. 8. No new religious foundations can be made without the consent of the Bishop and of the Holy See. 9. The same sanction is required in order to change the scope of any existing religious institute, unless such change is provided for in the original foundation, and regards merely the internal government and discipline. 10. Regulars, who have the cure of souls, are bound to render an annual account to the bishop of so much of the offerings of the faithful as are bestowed on the mission as such, and not on themselves personally. As to what comes under the denomination of mission funds, this point is to be decided on the principles

sivo—i.e., the operation of the law is suspended until Rome has spoken.—TRANSLATOR.

[1] Cap. iv. sess. 21. *De reformatione.*—TRANSLATOR.

[2] According to the provisions of the first Council of Westminster (*De regimine congregationum seu missionum*, No. 5).—TRANSLATOR.

laid down by the second Provincial Council of Westminster.[1]

Scotland and the Holy see.

Our survey of the Christian centuries is ended. Saint Ninian, trained in Rome for his great mission, was the first messenger of the faith to Scotland; and from the days of Ninian onward the union of the Scottish Church with the Holy See remained unbroken. During the monastic period of her history[2] the influence of Rome may, indeed, seem to have been for a time obscured. But that period was, as we have seen, an extraordinary episode in the life of the Church, due to the peculiar circumstances of time and place in which it took its rise; and, the rude northern peoples once converted through its means, it was destined speedily to give place to the normal form of ecclesiastical government. From the time of the establishment of the diocesan system in the eleventh century, through the labours of Saint Margaret and her consort, Malcolm Canmore, few countries of Europe maintained so intimate a relation with Rome as Catholic Scotland. The per-

[1] Cap. *De bonis ecclesiasticis.* See *Collectio Concil. Lacens.*, vol. iii. p. 981.

[2] A poet of our own times has thus depicted monastic England:—

"Who with the ploughshare clove the barren moors,
And to green meadows changed the swampy shores?
Thinned the rank woods, and for the cheerful grange
Made room where wolf and bear were used to range?
Who thought, and showed by deeds, that gentler chains
Should bind the vassal to his lord's domains?
The thoughtful monks, intent their God to please,
For Christ's dear sake, with human sympathies."

secuting laws enacted by the self-constituted Parliament of August 1560 did, indeed, succeed in weakening that relation; but the course of our narrative has sufficiently demonstrated that it was never altogether destroyed. Even in our own day, the impress of Catholicism is still stamped upon the face of Scotland. Louder than human tongue can speak, the voiceless ruins of her noble cathedral and monastic churches still bear their witness to the ancient faith.[1] We have seen how, with the first signs of relaxation of the crushing penal statutes, the Scottish Catholics re-entered on the public life of the nation, and at the same time strengthened their connection with the centre of Christian unity. The Popes, on their side, never

[1] "Ye holy walls, that, still sublime,
Resist the crumbling touch of Time,
How strongly still your form displays
The piety of ancient days!
As through your ruins hoar and grey,
Ruins yet beauteous in decay,
The silvery moonbeams trembling fly;
The forms of ages long gone by
Crowd thick on Fancy's wondering eye
And wake the soul to musings high.
E'en now, as lost in thought profound,
I view the solemn scene around,
And pensive gaze with wistful eyes,
The past returns, the present flies;
Again the dome in pristine pride
Lifts high its roof and arches wide,
That, knit with curious tracery,
Each Gothic ornament display:
The high-arched windows, painted fair,
Show many a saint and martyr there."—BURNS.

relaxed in their interest and care for their Scottish children. They accorded to them material support when it was most needed, and provided for their spiritual wants, first by the appointment of vicars-apostolic, and finally by the restoration of the hierarchy. And to-day there is no body of men which stands higher in the public esteem than the Catholic clergy of Scotland. The old fanatical fervour is strangely cooled; and the attitude of the modern Scotsman towards his Catholic countrymen is in happy contrast with the blind irrational zeal of his fathers, which hunted down priests and bishops like wild beasts, or slowly crushed them beneath the grinding pressure of merciless laws. "No clergyman in Glasgow," wrote the leading journal of that city, in February 1883, "is more respected, and, we may add, loved by all who know him, than Archbishop Eyre. The first bearer of the restored title of 'Archbishop of Glasgow,' he has never obtruded that title in a society in which he knows it awakens very checkered memories, and is regarded as a somewhat illegitimate assumption. He has filled his place with courtesy to all; has done his duty in every public movement he could assist; has ruled his clergy faithfully, and laboured assiduously for the temporal and spiritual good of his co-religionists. . . . Throughout Scotland generally, the Romish clergy do their duty with devotion. They minister to their generally poor, and

Position of the Catholic clergy at the present day.

often degraded, flocks with faithful zeal. . . . We have no love of their creed and their systems; but we ought to be therefore all the more ready to do justice to good qualities, which ought to be recognised by all."[1]

May the rich blessings which, since the restoration of the hierarchy in England on September 29, 1850, have been poured out on that country, be imparted in the future still more abundantly to Catholic Scotland!

LAUS DEO TRIUNI.

[1] *Glasgow Herald.* (Quoted in *The Tablet*, February 24, 1883.)

APPENDIX.

I. (p. 39).

Letter from Pope Urban VIII. to Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon, Vicar-Apostolic for England and Scotland. Rome, 1626.

(*Cod. Angel.*, B. 2. 5, p. 206. *Urbani VIII. Epistolæ et Brevia.*)

Episcopo Calcedonensi.

Patefiunt isthic catharactæ cœli et manna cœlestium consolationum depluit in terras scatentes venenatis hæreticorum dogmatum torrentibus. Orthodoxam fidem, quam carceris squallore mœrentem, et catenarum ignominiæ deformatam ante acta ætas quærebat in latibulis, videtis nunc in Britannarum reginarum solio coronatam diademate honoris. Jactate cogitationes vestras in domino, in cujus manu sunt corda dominantium, et ipse ex zizaniorum senticetis seliget vobis messem benedictionis, et pane Angelorum instruet mensas illas, ubi fel Draconum crudelis hæresis propinat. Nos quidem ex literis fraternitatis tuæ non leve cepimus solatium, tam pium Anglicanæ Reginæ ingenium debellare in Britannicis Insulis, potenter dimicante Domino, potentias Diaboli et Regii Conjugis cor captivare in obsequium filiorum Dei. Ut tam beatam spem optatos ad exitus Spiritus Sanctus perducat, accuratissimis precibus flagitabunt quotidie Pontificia sol-

licitudo et Catholica Ecclesia. Vos interea armamini jejuniis, pugnate orationibus cæterisque pietatis artibus, inferte vim regno cœlorum, atque inde auxiliarias Angelorum Legiones elicite pro Regina, et Religione in iis Regnis militaturas. Pontificium patrocinium numquam deerit fraternitati tuæ, cæterisque filiis nostris Catholicis, quos in sinu gerimus Apostolicæ charitatis, et triumphare cupimus in consiliis justorum. Te vero censemus dignum omni laude, cujus infulæ in ista Ecclesia existimantur esse Arces pietatis et consilia salutis. Cum autem se cœlo isthic sustinendo imparem se fateatur modestia fraternitatis tuæ, conabimur tibi illum conciliare, sub quo curvantur, qui portant orbem.

Non leve autem auxilium adjungere poterit piis diligentiis Præsulis . . . Mimatentis Episcopi Patris Berulli virtus. Consociate consilia, dimicate fœderatis ingeniis, o animæ coronatæ scuto bonæ voluntatis, quos [non] in deliciis cellarum conquiescere, sed in periculis castrorum merere voluit Imperator æternus. Speramus vestra diligentia et authoritate optimæ Reginæ irritos isthic fore conatus Inferni, nec defuturos Religioni suos triumphos, ac fraternitati tuæ Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impertimur.

Datum, &c.

II. (p. 46).

Report of the Superior of the Scottish Mission to the Congregation of Propaganda, 1650-1660.[1]

(*Cod. Barberin.*, xxx. 132, p. 127.)

Most Eminent and most Reverend Lords,

Since the time when your Eminences, to whom is committed that most divine of all offices, the care of the propagation of the faith, deigned to extend the compassion of your fatherly charity towards the people of Scotland, miserably ensnared in the toils of heresy, it has been a cause of wonder even in the

[1] Translated from the Latin original.

eyes of our enemies to see what progress the Catholic religion has made, and how much God has blessed our labours. For—to pass over in silence what we have touched on in previous letters, regarding the conversion of many illustrious families and others—such a leaning towards the Catholic faith has become apparent in all serious men, that the *pseudo-ministers* have resolved to check this progress by every possible means. And this they have tried to do by stirring up persecution, in order that converts to the faith might be punished and others well disposed might be deterred, and also by lies, calumnies, travesties of the Catholic religion, and the outpouring of a thousand blasphemies against the Apostolic See and the Supreme Pontiffs, with what effect I shall shortly proceed to show.

The decree which was last year extorted from the Protector Cromwell, by the importunity and calumnies of the ministers, against priests and Catholics, remained unenforced for six months, for all the authorities were reluctant to carry it out, until at the beginning of Lent certain Anabaptist magistrates consented to do so, after much pressure from the ministers. Accordingly, dividing their forces, they searched simultaneously various houses of nobles and citizens, chiefly in the city and county of Aberdeen, hoping by this method to apprehend all the priests living in that district at one and the same time. But matters turned out as they wished only in the castle and estate of Strathbogie, where they discovered two priests and myself, and carried us prisoners to the neighbouring military station at Fremdraught. The commander of the horse had all the names of the priests written in a little book, and ingenuously admitted to me that I had been described to him so exactly as to stature, complexion, features, and other distinctive marks, that he could have drawn a complete portrait of me before he saw me. I remained with them only for a short time; for with the help of certain noble ladies, and especially through the efforts, and the security, of the Viscount of Fremdraught, who is very influential with

these English, and who had been the means of my coming to those parts, I was set at liberty. The other two were sent to Edinburgh, where they were kept in prison for some six months; but as nothing could be legally proved against them, although a number of witnesses, by the instigation of the ministers, were brought and urged with threats to give testimony, they were at length released from custody, on condition, however, that they should not pass a night out of Edinburgh. The ministers were almost mad with rage, and offered themselves to testify on oath that the accused were really priests; but their demand was rejected, and leave was subsequently granted to the priests even to return to their own districts, provided that they would appear within two months before the court at Aberdeen, so that if nothing further were proved against them, they might be fully and legally acquitted.

As to the other main support of heresy, namely lies and abuse, it is marvellous how much delight the pseudo-ministers take in these, insomuch that they seem to have lost, or never to have possessed, any conscience as regards falsehood and calumny, or any shame or sense of confusion when they are openly detected in them. Besides their habitually slanderous attacks on the Catholic religion . . . they have begun to vomit forth such furious blasphemies against the Apostolic See and the Supreme Pontiff, that even a passing mention of them would be an offence to pious ears.

But not content with speech alone, they have of late been girding themselves up to write books, not for the building up of their own religion, but for the pulling down of ours. Thus there has this year appeared at Aberdeen an extremely pernicious volume, written by a minister who styles himself doctor of divinity, and who undertakes to show, not by mere arguments, but, as he says, by open proofs, and the testimony of Catholics themselves, that the Apostolic See is Babylon, and all the Supreme Pontiffs, from Boniface III. downwards, Antichrists; and with this object he has brought together all

the vile passages he could find in writers like Aventinus, Benno, Parisius, and others, and has, moreover, miserably garbled and corrupted a number of citations from the writings of Popes and various authentic histories. In the beginning of his epistle dedicatory, he owns, in the following words, that the occasion of his writing this book was the great increase of Catholics in Scotland: "At the time of so great a defection from the truth to Popery in this realm of Scotland, especially in the northern parts, if it ever was necessary for the servants of God to sound the trumpet (as Ezekiel saith), it is so now." He adds, moreover, that this is the real and vital question at issue, so that if what he has in hand is once clearly proved, Popery will perish and all will have to flee out of Babel. This book is published in the vulgar tongue, and is the more dangerous as it is more widely circulated, more self-asserting, and more detailed than those historical works which are not accessible to every one. Consequently, at the request of the prefect of the mission and of many Catholics, the burden of replying to it has been laid upon me. I have completed a large part of the answer in Scotland, and now by the grace of God I hope to finish it here with greater ease.

There is another minister in Mar, a man of great reputation among them, who has sent some tracts against the Real Presence in the Eucharist to the Earl of Aboyne, brother of the lately deceased Marquis of Huntly, a youth of very keen intellect and great zeal for the Catholic faith (which he has lately embraced), and has challenged all the priests to reply to him. He hoped by means of this publication to draw away the Earl and many others from the faith. At the request of the Earl and our superior, I have carefully examined the writings of the minister, which I have by me here, and have not only confuted his obscure arguments and sophisms, but have also demonstrated the truth of the Catholic doctrine from Holy Scripture, the acts of the Supreme Pontiffs, and reason, and have endeavoured to set it forth with all possible

clearness. This reply of mine, which was approved by the prefect of the mission and other ecclesiastics, and was transmitted to the minister by the Earl six months ago, remains up to now unanswered; and perhaps it will be shortly printed here, as is the wish of many.

The fear of forthcoming persecution has compelled many well-disposed persons to defer their conversion, among others a certain noble Earl in Angus, of whom I have more than once spoken; but my colleague, who is well known to him, will, I hope, soon complete this work. By the grace of God, however, three illustrious barons have recently been secretly received into the Church. One of these is the foremost baron of all Scotland, and head of a distinguished family. He made a serious examination (in which I assisted him not a little) of all the heretical dogmas, testing them by Holy Scripture and the traditions of the fathers; and being thoroughly convinced of the truth of the Catholic faith, he this year submitted himself, together with his two daughters, to the sweet yoke of Christ and of the Catholic Church, to the great joy of the Baroness his wife, and his other children and friends, almost all of whom have been converted within the past five years. Among the converts are others belonging to the lesser nobility, whose names, owing to the commencement of the persecution, I am bound to withhold.

Among the people the number of conversions has been so great, especially in Strathavon, the district nearest to the Highlands, and in Strathbogie, that in the former place more persons, and these of better condition, assist at the venerable Catholic mysteries than at the profane worship of the heretics; and the minister of Strathbogie recently announced in his sermon that if the church of the Lady Marchioness increased as much in the next three months as it had done in the last, he would give up preaching there altogether.

An affair has lately occurred, which has been of no little service to the Catholic cause in these parts. There is a woman, the wife of a farmer named Henry Sharp, living

in the outskirts of Strathbogie, who for a space of eight years has been greatly perturbed in spirit, and seemed to be under a sort of spell, for all her cattle suddenly perished. She has been in the habit of constantly chanting, at the instigation of the devil, a most lugubrious ditty, accompanied with a trembling of her whole body; and the meaning of this chant she thought, in her despair, to be that she would certainly be damned. After travelling through various parts of the country with her husband, at great expense, and receiving no help or comfort from the ministers or any one else, she at length arrived at the ark of Strathbogie, and was brought to me. After careful examination and consultation with other priests, and when by the prayers of the faithful, the offering of the sacrifice of the Mass, and other pious exercises, she had been restored to peace of mind, instructed in the faith, and absolved after due confession of her sins, I sent her back within fourteen days to her house, which shortly afterwards I visited and blessed. She is now in such a tranquil condition that she diligently attends to her household business; and Mr Lumsden, one of our missionaries, lately admitted her, in a large assembly of the faithful, to receive Holy Communion. The confusion that this has caused to the ministers, and the consequent exaltation of the Catholic Church, may be easily imagined.

In truth, so far are the ministers from commanding the devil, that he on the contrary occasionally exercises dominion over some of them. A memorable example of this has lately occurred. A certain evil spirit so disturbed the house of the minister of Dalmaig, in the Barony of Drum, some seven miles from Aberdeen, that what with throwing stones, coals, and similar things, he frequently compelled the minister, his wife, children, and servants to fly from the house. When this became known, and when the whole tribe of ministers could do nothing in the matter, the minister in question was so affected by grief and shame that he soon afterwards died, whereupon the house was immediately delivered from all

further annoyance. A noteworthy incident in the affair was this, that some Catholics, recent converts, belonging to a very illustrious family of Drum, being about to visit the minister, took with them secretly some holy water, and returned untouched and uninjured; whereas some heretics who were in their company were struck with coals and forced to fly. All this was well known, and matter of common talk in the part of the country where I was then staying.

In the district of Galloway, however, a much more famous spirit has lately appeared, and still continues to do so. Although at first invisible, it began to talk in a summer-house which a countryman had built in his garden, and caused great excitement and terror among the neighbours. The ministers were called in from all quarters in order to drive it out of the house, but their efforts were fruitless. At length they set the house on fire, whereupon the spirit, as he had already threatened to do, took possession of the countryman's dwelling-house, and caused a greater disturbance than ever. The most wonderful things are told about him by trustworthy persons, both Catholics and heretics—how he argues with the ministers who are always quoting Holy Scripture at him, out of the same Scripture, and catches them with witty sayings, so that no one can hear it without laughing. At length, on being asked by one of the ministers whether he was a demon, or the spirit of some man, he replied by holding out an arm and hand of enormous size, which he asked him to shake, and then proceeded to prove by argument that he had full dominion over the minister. The result of all this has been the confusion of the heretics, and the conviction of the atheists, of whom there are now not a few. For many of them were before wont to say openly that demons were mere figments, invented to frighten children: but now they begin to think otherwise.

The Catholic religion has likewise penetrated into the heretical seats of education. For a certain professor of philosophy, named Strachan, has been this year publicly setting

forth in the University of Aberdeen the doctrine of the freedom of man's will, as taught by Catholics, and other Catholic dogmas. Words cannot express how the ministers have been stung by this, insomuch that they have determined at any cost to get him removed from his office and from the college. This he cares little for, as he has already firmly resolved to abandon heresy and join the Catholic Church, which, as is well known, two more of the most distinguished professors in the same university have not long ago actually done.

From these incidents—I pass over many others—your Eminences may have some idea how marvellously, and beyond all expectation, the Catholic religion has advanced in Scotland within the past six years, and what hope there would be of a greater increase daily, if so many were not held back by fear of persecution. For of all men the ministers have come to be the most universally hated and detested; their fallacies and frauds are exposed every day, and their folly is becoming known to every man of sense. The bitter fruits of the Covenant, which was formerly extolled by the ministers up to heaven, are now apparent, to the disgust of all. For a nation which once imposed a limit to the Roman empire, and preserved herself ever unconquered and secure from foreign arms, now, betrayed by the perfidy of the ministers, and infected by the enormous sin of heresy, experiences by the just judgment of God the hardships of servitude; and this affliction gives understanding to many, and brings them at length to a sound mind.

It has lately been reported to us that the Protector Cromwell has published, and ordered to be strictly carried out, a new decree against Catholics and priests in Scotland and England, according to which an oath of abjuration, as they call it, is to be proposed to every one suspected of Catholicism. Whoever refuses to take it will be held a Catholic, and deprived of two-thirds of his annual income: and in this way all those who are secretly Catholics will be compelled to declare themselves.

III. (p. 91).

Discussion as to Canonical Penalties incurred by Catherine of Braganza, in consequence of her Marriage to Charles II. without a Papal Dispensation.

(*Cod. Ottob.*, 2462, fol. 392.)

An exigi debeat a Regina Angliæ, ut petat remissionem pœnarum canonicarum incursarum ob contractum Matrimonium cum Rege hæretico absque dispensatione Pontificia, et ut permittatur sibi permanere in cohabitatione matrimoniali cum Rege Marito.

Videtur non debere exigi, 1. quia illa contraxit optima fide persuasa a viris doctis sibi id licere juxta sententiam valde communem, quam secluso perversionis periculo, in locis ubi impune grassatur Hæresis, et ubi non est consuetudo petendi dispensationem Pontificiam, sustinent quamplurimi doctores. . . .

2. Etiamsi peccasset contrahendo (quod tamen facile credi non debet), tamen cum hoc peccatum nullibi sit reservatum Papæ. . . .

4. Quia nullæ sunt pœnæ spirituales excommunicationis, vel similes statutæ in jure, quarum remissionem ipsa petere debeat, etiamsi peccasset. . . .

5. Hæc afflictio affligeret supra omnem modum Serenissimam Reginam, quæ cum sit piissima, et tenerrimæ conscientiæ, et zelantissima pro fide Catholica, inconsolabiliter inde contristaretur, et cum passim dicatur esse gravida, timeri posset inde sinister aliquis eventus.

6. Offenderet graviter Serenissimum Regem Maritum, a cujus unius nutu et protectione pendet conservatio, propagatio, vel etiam accretio Catholicæ Majestatis in Anglia, Scotia, et Hibernia; et metuendum valde, ne exinde offensus subtrahat suam protectionem, permittatque Parlamento

(quod iterum convocandum in Februario erat), ut, quod superiori anno frustra tentavit, impediente Rege, nunc mandet executioni leges pœnales contra Catholicos pridem latas, et tunc sequerentur innumeræ confiscationes bonorum, proscriptiones sacerdotum, incarcerationes et mortes aliorum, et denique clades gravissima, si non exterminium religionis Catholicæ in iis Regnis.

7. Pietas et constantia Catholicorum in Anglia, Scotia, et Hibernia in defendenda per centum et amplius annos auctoritatem Sedis Apostolicæ, pro qua sola tot sustinuerunt carceres, tormenta, mortem, rapinas bonorum et alia innumera incommoda, mereri videtur ut eadem Sancta Sedes, quæ est mater pia omnium credentium, sed maxime certantium in agone, nunc non det hanc afflictionem præsentibus Catholicis, quorum multi multa retro elapsis annis pro fide passi sunt, exponendo illos hac de causa iræ Regis, furori Parlamenti, periculisque innumeris cum maxima strage animarum.

IV. (p. 103).

A Brief Account of Particulars occurring at the happy Death of our late Sovereign Lord King Charles the 2nd in regard to Religion; faithfully related by his then assistant, Mr Jo. Hudleston.[1]

Upon Thursday the Fifth of February, 1685, Between Seven and Eight a clock in the Evening, I was sent for in hast to the Queen's Back-stairs at *Whitehal*, and desired to bring with me all things necessary for a dying Person. Accordingly I came, and was order'd not to stir from thence till further notice; being thus obliged to wait, and not having had time to bring along with me the Most Holy Sacrament of

[1] Reprinted from a rare tract, entitled "*A Short and plain Way to the Faith and Church*, composed many years since by that Eminent Divine *Mr Richard Hudleston* of the English Congregation of the Order of St *Benedict*." London, 1688.

the Altar, I was in some Anxiety how to procure it: In this conjuncture (the Divine Providence so disposing) Father *Bento de Lemos*, a *Portugez*, came thither, and understanding the circumstance I was in, readily profer'd himself to go to St. *James's* and bring the Most Holy Sacrament along with him.

Soon after his departure I was call'd into the King's Bed-Chamber, where approaching to the Bed-side, and Kneeling down, I in brief presented his Majesty with what service I could perform for God's honor, and the happiness of his Soul at the last Moment on which Eternity depends. The King then declared himself: That he desired to die in the Faith and Communion of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, That he was most heartily sorry for all the Sins of his life past, and particularly for that he had deferred his Reconciliation so long; That through the Merits of Christ's Passion he hoped for Salvation, That he was in Charity with all the World; That with all his heart he Pardon'd his Enemies and desired Pardon of all those whom he had any Wise offended, and that if it pleased God to spare him longer life, he would amend it, detesting all Sin.

I then advertis'd His Majesty of the benefit and necessity of the Sacrament of Penance, which advertisement the King most willingly embracing, made an exact Confession of his whole Life with exceeding Compunction and Tenderness of Heart; which ended, I desired him, in farther sign of Repentance and true sorrow for his Sins, to say with me this little Short Act of Contrition:

O my Lord God, with my whole Heart and Soul I detest all the Sins of my Life past for the Love of Thee, whom I love above all things, and I firmly purpose by thy Holy Grace never to offend Thee more; Amen, Sweet Jesus, Amen. Into Thy Hands, sweet Jesus, I commend my Soul; Mercy, sweet Jesus, mercy. This he pronounced with a clear and audible voice, which done, and his Sacramental Penance admitted, I gave him Absolution.

After some time thus spent, I asked His Majesty if he did not also desire to have the other Sacraments of the Holy Church administered to him? He replyed, by all means I desire to be partaker of all the helps and succours necessary and expedient for a Catholic Christian in my condition. I added, and doth not your Majesty also desire to Receive the Pretious Body and Blood of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ in the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist? His Answer was this: If I am worthy, pray fail not to let me have it. I then told him it would be brought to him very speedily, and desired His Majesty, that in the interim he would give me leave to proceed to the Sacrament of Extreme Unction; he replyed, with all my Heart; I then Anoyl'd him, which as soon as perform'd I was called to the Door, whither the Blessed Sacrament was now brought and delivered to me.

Then returning to the King, I entreated His Majesty that he would prepare and dispose himself to receive. At which the King raising up himself, said, let me meet my Heavenly Lord in a better posture than in my Bed. But I humbly begg'd His Majesty to repose himself: God Almighty, who saw his Heart, would accept of his good intention. The King then having again recited the forementioned Act of Contrition with me, he received the Most Holy Sacrament for his Viaticum with all the Symptoms of Devotion imaginable. The Communion being ended, I read the usual Prayers, termed the Recommendation of the Soul, appointed by the Church for Catholics in his condition. After which the King desired the Act of Contrition: *O my Lord God,* &c., to be repeated: this done, for his last spiritual encouragement I said:

Your Majesty hath now received the Comfort and Benefit of all the Sacraments, that a good Christian (ready to depart out of this World) can have or desire. Now it rests only, that you think upon the Death and Passion of our Dear Saviour Jesus Christ, of which I present unto you this Figure [showing him a Crucifix]: lift up therefore the eyes of your Soul, and represent to yourself your sweet Saviour

here Crucified: bowing down his Head to kiss you: His Arms stretched out to embrace you: His Body and Members all bloody and pale with Death to redeem you. And as you see him Dead and fixed upon the Cross for your Redemption; so have his Remembrance fixed and fresh in your Heart: beseech him with all humility, that his most pretious Blood may not be shed in vain for you; and that it will please him by the Merits of his bitter Death and Passion to pardon and forgive you all your Offences, and finally to receive your Soul into his Blessed hands, and when it shall please him to take it out of this Transitory World, to grant you a joyful Resurrection and Eternal Crown of Glory in the next. In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

So recommending His Majesty on my knees, with all the Transport of Devotion I was able, to the Divine Mercy and Protection, I withdrew out of the Chamber.

In Testimony of all which I have hereunto subscribed my Name,

Jo. Hudleston.

V. (p. 129).

Report and Suggestions submitted to Propaganda by Alexander Leslie, Visitor of the Scottish Mission, 1681.[1]

(*Cod. Vatic. Ottobon.*, 3182, *f.* 23.)

Most Eminent and Most Reverend Fathers,

I think it is already known, as far as may be, to your Eminences how I have obeyed your commands, and what is the present condition of the Scottish Mission. Now, therefore, I proceed to lay before you in brief, reduced to the following heads, the points on which action seems to be most urgently required; and from my inmost heart I most humbly

[1] Translated from the Latin original.

pray and entreat that your Eminences will diligently, and with the greatest zeal and prudence, consider the matter, and graciously provide for our necessities.

1. In the first place, your Eminences can see from the result of this visitation, that most of the provinces are altogether infected with heresy; in a certain number there are a few Catholics, in some few there are many, and in one or two the whole population professes the true faith.

2. Our countrymen are not altogether indisposed to embrace the faith, nor very strongly opposed to us; and those who profess themselves most hostile are simply blinded by false zeal and ignorance of our tenets; for if they were properly acquainted with them they would certainly not persecute us, but would rather themselves be converted and become most zealous Catholics and most ardent defenders of the faith, as experience has shown on more than one occasion.

3. We are in need of many and good labourers—many, in order that every province may have its own missionaries: good, holy, and learned, that they may be of service to Catholics, and may succeed in converting heretics.

4. For the few labourers that we have is required ecclesiastical discipline, guidance, order, and authority, that this Church, oppressed as it is by persecutions from without, may not be sullied by domestic scandals and contentions within.

5. We are in need of some temporal assistance, partly to meet the wants of the faithful, partly to supply the poverty and necessities of the missionaries themselves. As by the indulgence of your Eminences I am permitted to propose and humbly suggest remedies for these evils, I beg that I may be allowed, by the same indulgence, to unfold in a few words their origin. They all arise, in great measure:

a. First from the want of bishops; had we preserved the episcopal succession, we should have had labourers for the different provinces, heresy would have been less prevalent, the number of Catholics would not have daily diminished,

many converts would have been made; and, briefly, ecclesiastical discipline would have flourished, and the Catholics themselves would have abundantly provided for our temporal necessities.

b. These miseries of ours may be traced to the negligence of those who, down to recent times, have been labouring on the mission, with no superior to direct their work, or render due account of his stewardship to the Apostolic See; as is very manifest from the fact, that as soon as by the favour of the Holy See we obtained a superior of the secular missionary clergy, and a certain organisation was bestowed on them by your Eminences, the number of Catholics began, in comparison with the past, immensely to increase, the heretical persecution in great part ceased, the number of labourers was augmented, and many young men, seeing some one to lead them, are now dedicating themselves to this holy service, and longing to be inscribed upon our rolls.

c. Among our missionaries, and the more prudent men amongst us, there is but one mind and opinion—namely, that there is no more certain or more immediate cause of our present evils than the bad administration of our colleges, and the inadequate and unsuitable education of the youths resorting to them. It is from these sources that we acknowledge, with great grief, that almost all the evils that afflict our country have arisen; and recognising this truth daily more and more, we look for the fitting remedies from you, whom the Holy Spirit has appointed to rule God's Church, and most humbly implore your Eminences seriously to consider the following petitions, and to decree accordingly.

Proposals of the Visitor of the Scottish Mission, submitted to the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, A.D. 1681, *die . . . Januar.*

Your Eminences are humbly prayed: 1. To deign to divide the labourers on the Scottish Mission among the different provinces of the kingdom, for the reasons already adduced by

the Visitor in his report. And since all the secular missionaries in Scotland, excepting only Mr Alexander Winster, and the laity also, desire this division with all their hearts, and as the fathers of the Society are either opposed to it, or declare that it cannot be carried out in practice, it is prayed that the superior of the secular priests on the mission, at any rate, be ordered to distribute his missionaries through the several provinces, and to prescribe to each the limits of his mission, beyond which he is not to go except in case of urgent necessity (the superior being duly notified), nor to exercise his faculties elsewhere than within those limits. If this be done, the fathers of the Society will be obliged, *nolentes volentes*, to adopt the same system, since the faithful, having their own pastors, will not require their services, nor will there be anything to be gained in future by their discursive and occasional visits.

2. That in order to strike at the root of the contentions and disagreements which may arise between the secular and regular missionaries in Scotland, and in order that the laity may not favour one side more than the other, nor think that the secular clergy are merely the leavings of the Society, uniform faculties be granted to all regulars and seculars, and that the one do not enjoy more extensive privileges than the other: the power, however, being reserved to superiors, if it seem good to your Eminences, of restricting the faculties of individual missionaries, according as it may seem expedient to them respectively, for the reasons already alleged, and according to the decree of the S. Congregation, dated January 16, 1646 (No. 9). Also that the superior, at all events, be granted faculties to consecrate things for which the sacred unction is required, and the power of dismissing from the mission persons of disedifying or scandalous life.

3. That the Scottish Mission be placed under a superior-general, with the power of appointing to office all seculars and regulars; and that the regulars be at least bound to present themselves and exhibit their faculties to the superior of the secular missionaries, so that he may be able to

admonish the clergy and faithful to receive in a proper spirit their legitimate pastors, and to reject as vagabonds those who unlawfully intrude upon the missions.

4. That whereas some of the missionaries have to labour more, some less, and their wants vary accordingly, the superior be permitted and directed, in the distribution of benefactions and other temporal provisions, to have regard to the circumstances of places, times, and persons, and that he be bound to render to your Eminences a yearly account of moneys expended, to forward the receipts for the said sums to the S. Congregation, and to explain why he has assigned a greater or less share to different individuals.

5. That whereas the experience of many years past has proved that a comparatively small number of priests has come from the Scotch Colleges, and in particular from the College at Rome, and out of these few some have proved to be useless, and others have forthwith entered religion, your Eminences will deign to renew the decree (intimating the same to those whom it concerns—namely, the rector of the college, and the superior and procurator of the mission): *a.* That in future students be not admitted to the college unless they bring with them the written approval of the superior of the secular missionaries in Scotland. It will thus be ensured that our superior sends out young men suitable for, and desirous of embracing, the ecclesiastical state, and he will inform them about the oath before their departure, so that they will not come, as at present, knowing neither whither they go nor what they seek, nor will so many useless expenses be incurred. *b.* That as soon as they arrive in Rome and enter the college, they take the usual oath; so that the rectors of the college may not be able, as heretofore, to turn the college into a novitiate, by not administering the oath for six months (that is, until they have seen whether the students are suited for the Society), and by persuading them meanwhile to enter the Society's novitiate—facts of which I am able to adduce irrefragable

proof. *c.* That when there is a vacancy in the college, the superior of the mission be notified of it, that he may be able in time to arrange for its being suitably filled.

6. That the subsidies accorded by your Eminences to the missionaries may be not only continued, but increased, in view of the various needs and privations from which the mission is at present suffering: so that the faithful, seeing the liberality of the Holy See towards the labourers, and finding pastors duly assigned to all the different parts of the country, may be encouraged and induced to contribute by degrees towards their support, and in a short time to relieve the S. Congregation of the burden.

7. That the number of missionaries be augmented, not only in the Highlands and the Hebrides, and in those places where there is some hope of their being supported by the Catholics, but also in localities where there are few or no priests, by assigning a provision to such as can obtain the means of living from no other source; and that since we have not at present sufficient native clergy, some Irish priests be taken, who have already offered themselves at Paris for this work; and that a collection be made there for their travelling expenses and other needs. The charity of your Eminences is likewise entreated, in order to supply the deficiency of priests for the Lowlands of Scotland. There are two suitable ones now in Italy—namely, John Irvin, at Pesaro, and Alexander Christie, in the Scotch College at Rome.

8. That the rectors of the colleges be directed to keep places for students from the Highlands, and to receive at once such as the Visitor found in those districts prepared to enter college, and to embrace the ecclesiastical state. The Scotch College at Rome is able to support two, or at least one, more than its present number, provided that its annual revenues are duly paid.

9. That the hospice for Scottish missionaries, which your Eminences in your great goodness ordered to be established

at Cadome, in Normandy, be permitted to be transferred to Paris, where half the Scotch College can be utilised for the purpose. For at Cadome there is very great poverty among the people, who are, moreover, burdened with a large number of mendicant friars, nor is there any hope of obtaining alms there for the support of our missionaries; secondly, the air is not considered good, but highly injurious even to the natives; and finally, the place is strongly suspected of Jansenism, against which we ought to be greatly on our guard. At Paris, on the other hand, the air is salubrious; alms, at least for masses, are always forthcoming; there is an abundance of books in the Scotch College, and also of pious and learned men, so that the missionaries can there prepare with every facility for the work of the mission. Lastly, it is very possible that persons might be found there who would gladly make pious bequests in our favour, if they once saw us with a house established at Paris.

10. That your Eminences will deign to provide masters for the schools in the Highlands, so that youths well versed in humane letters may be chosen for the foreign colleges, and others may be instructed in the faith. It is probable that, when the allocation of priests is once made, the inhabitants of the Lowlands will send their children to be educated in these schools.

11. That your Eminences will obtain from his Holiness, for the Scottish Mission, a large number of *Agnus Dei* and indulgenced medals, for the reasons already adduced by the Visitor, and on account of the many wonders which are daily wrought by their means: whence Catholics urgently desire them, as also that his Holiness will bestow on them some relics for inserting in portable altars, as well as rosaries and medals.

12. That there be granted to the superior of the mission faculties (1) to dismiss missionaries, when there is danger of scandal, &c.; (2) to consecrate chalices and other articles for which the sacred unction is required, so that we may not be

obliged, as is both inconvenient and unfitting, always to beg such things from the fathers of the Society, especially in the Highland districts, where they seldom or never appear.

13. That the missionaries may be provided with the necessary church furniture, above all in the Highlands, and also with chalices suitable for the mission; and that these be bought at Paris, according to the recommendation of the Visitor.

14. That your Eminences will deign to bestow an alms for the purchase of books for the Scottish Mission, a list of which has been drawn up by the Visitor.

15. That the missionaries may be allowed to exercise the arts of medicine, surgery, &c., especially in the abandoned districts, in which they may in this way gain a footing anew.

16. That no missionaries be sent to Scotland until they have been carefully and strictly examined; and that the students, before promotion to holy orders, be examined with the greatest strictness in the subjects which a missionary ought to know.

17. That your Eminences will deign to grant to the superior of the mission the power of appointing or deputing notaries apostolic.

18. That strict visitations be made of our colleges, one or other of which will perhaps be found deficient, and that the best possible discipline be introduced into them, in which the students may be so trained that they turn out worthy labourers in the Lord's vineyard.

19. That your Eminences will so arrange, in your prudence, with regard to the legacy bequeathed to the S. Congregation by Mr Francis Irvine, that the fund be withdrawn from Scotland; and to facilitate this, it will be necessary to defray out of the principal sum the payments which the testator directed to be made in Scotland, after which those concerned will consent the more readily to the money being transferred to France, especially as the executor of the will is an infirm old man. (2) That you will please to pay out of the same prin-

cipal sum the legacies which the testator bequeathed in Italy; (3) lastly, that what remains of the said sum be so invested by your Eminences that by the accumulation of the yearly interest, and the adding of the same to the principal, the amount may at length become so considerable as to be capable of better profiting the mission in whatever way your Eminences may think fit to decree and determine.

VI. (p. 150).

Report of Bishop Thomas Nicolson, First Vicar-Apostolic of Scotland, to Propaganda. Aberdeen, September 21, 1697.[1]

(*Arch. Propag. Germania* [*Scozia?*], *Scrittur. riferite*, 1680-1700.)

Most Eminent Lords,

Since I have lately arrived in Scotland, and during the past two months have traversed various parts of the country, I thought it my duty to inform your Eminences of this fact, and to state briefly what is the present condition of the mission. If I remained abroad longer than I wished or intended, that happened not through my own fault, but by very great ill-fortune, as was well known to their lordships the nuncios at Cologne and Brussels,[2] who assisted me with advice and with what help they could, when our endeavours to remove the obstacles proved of no avail. At the end of last October I crossed over to England, where a few days afterwards I was thrown into prison, and not released for seven months, and even then the obstacles were not removed which prevented

[1] Translated from the Latin original. On the back is written, "Copia presentata alla S. Cong^ne. de Propag. fide, 2 Gennaio, 1698."

[2] The nuncio at Cologne from 1696 to 1698 was Fabrizio Paolucci, afterwards Cardinal-Secretary of State to Clement XI. He died at Rome in 1726. The internuncio at Brussels at this time was Giulio Piazza (Abbate di San Giorgio), subsequently titular Archbishop of Rhodes, and nuncio at Cologne, 1703-1706. He became Cardinal in 1712, and died at Faenza in 1726. See Cardella, *Memorie Storiche*, vol. viii. p. 123.

me from entering Scotland. As, however, I saw that my superiors wished me to go thither, and that this would be more advantageous to the Church, I was willing rather to expose myself to danger than to endure the tedium of further delay; and although on account of the novelty of my office, as well as for other reasons, I am odious and obnoxious to the Government, and am consequently obliged to live in the most absolute privacy, as far as I can, yet I shall endeavour to be of service to the Catholics, and I trust that God will give me grace.

We have but few priests, yet I think that the clergy were never in a more flourishing state with regard to ecclesiastical learning, piety, and unanimity. As yet I have met but few of the regulars, and they also give every reason to hope for the best. The faithful have suffered more of late years from the contagion of evil living than from the fear of persecution; for many of the Protestants, disgusted by all the changes in their sect, and by the contradictory oaths, and wearied out by so much discussion, have begun to hesitate and to doubt about Christianity itself. The result is the prevalence of the opinion that it is a matter of indifference to what external communion any one belongs, while in other cases men are falling into Socinianism, deism, and, I fear, even atheism. Hence follows the neglect of all external worship, and a corruption of manners which would be even more conspicuous, were it not restrained by fear of punishment. And this manner of life has been imitated by some Catholics (although very few) to the sorrow of good men and the scandal of the people. No better or more efficacious remedy can be opposed to this evil, than that the young men in our colleges should be fully and solidly instructed against these pestilential ideas. This will be far more profitable to our Church than the study of those scholastic subtleties, which are considered by the wisest men amongst us as mere intellectual trifling.

The ordinary missionary faculties have been conceded to

me, and a petition for their amplification has already been made in my name. I trust that your Eminences will consider our circumstances with regard to matrimonial cases, and in what an exceedingly difficult position we are placed, when recourse has to be had to the Holy See, or when a contract has to be dissolved. For there are serious obstacles in the way of the first course, and the second is often impossible: our laws sanction marriages between relatives of the second degree, and pay no regard to *occulta crimina*, or to certain other impediments; and if we attempted to separate those whom the laws of the country permit to be joined, what storms and outpourings of wrath should we not call down on our heads? It would in truth be better and safer to do without that faculty of dispensation (unless it were necessary, to help the weak and avoid scandals, and were on this account granted to the other vicars-apostolic) than to be bound by the restrictions which would be necessary in making use of it.

There are other matters, regarding which the procurator of our mission will communicate with your Eminences when opportunity offers. I pray you to hear him with your accustomed goodness.

I have not yet been able to visit the Highland districts, where I fear that the labourers are few and the harvest abundant. For two years past, on account of the unusual storms and inclemency of the weather, there has been a great scarcity of corn, and in consequence such poverty that we have no means of defraying the travelling expenses of those who desire to go to the colleges abroad. It is to be wished that some help may be forthcoming for those who are seeking to be enrolled in the ranks of the clergy. An attempt was lately made to establish schools in the Highlands, but less successfully than we anticipated; for the whole of that country is occupied by garrisons, and the missionaries are not permitted to remain in one place, which is greatly to our disadvantage. Experience has taught us that in certain districts of the north, where the protection of a

great noble, or a less hostile attitude on the part of the people has made it possible for priests to reside, matters go much better, for every day a certain number are reconciled to the Church. If one might judge from this, there would without doubt be hopes of a rich harvest, if the state of things were restored which prevailed nine years ago. Meanwhile, for what is left to us we owe thanks to Almighty God, who in His great mercy turns away the evil which our enemies plot against us. We owe much also to our Holy Father Innocent,[1] who in the time of our distress has protected us with the power of his apostolic office. To your goodness, also, most Eminent Lords, to your counsel and watchful care, we owe the strength of the bond which unites us to the Apostolic See. We shall not cease to recall your benefits with grateful hearts, praying God long to preserve you safely to His Church.—Your Eminences' most devoted and humble servant,

THOMAS, Bishop of Peristachium,
Vicar-Apostolic in Scotland.

ABERDEEN, *September* 21, 1697.

VII. (p. 150).

REPORT OF MR JOHN IRVIN, PROCURATOR OF THE SCOTTISH MISSION IN PARIS, TO THE NUNCIO IN THAT CITY,[2] ON THE STATE OF THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND. PARIS, SEPTEMBER 5, 1698.

(*Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit.* i., 1623-1700.)

MOST EXCELLENT, ILLUSTRIOUS, AND REVEREND LORD,

Monsignor Thomas, Bishop of Peristachium, having, in conformity with his office, to write to your Excellency as

[1] Pope Innocent XII. (1691-1700).

[2] The nuncio in Paris from 1696 to 1699 was Marco Delfino, a Venetian. In the latter year he was made a cardinal, and in 1704 he died at Brescia (Cardella, *Memorie Storiche*, tom. viii. p. 68). The original of this report is in Italian.

Nuncio to the Most Christian King, that is, in the kingdom nearest to that wherein his mission lies, and not being able to write himself, by reason of the present movement against Catholicism in Scotland, has charged me, among his other commands, humbly to salute your Excellency in his name, to make his excuses, explaining the cause of his not himself addressing you, and at the same time to lay before your Excellency the present state of the Mission, to the end that you may have the goodness to extend your charity and zeal for the faith to the afflicted Church of Scotland, and also to recommend me, presently nominated procurator of the bishop and the mission aforesaid, to the Holy See, in consideration of the circumstances truly narrated in the following report.

The Catholic Church in Scotland is just now subject to a persecution dating from the beginning of April of the present year, when orders were transmitted from the Privy Council to all the cities, provinces, and judges of the realm, commanding the judges and magistrates to make search for priests, Jesuits, and masters of Catholic schools, to imprison them when found, and afterwards to take them under strong guard to Edinburgh, the capital city, there to remain in prison until the Council determined either to send them into banishment, or to execute against their persons the full severity of the penal laws; and, moreover, requiring the judges to report to the Council, before the first of June, as to their diligence in obeying these decrees. Accordingly, the judges of every province where any Catholics reside, and the magistrates of the cities, made frequent expeditions in search of them; but by the grace of God, up to the day of my departure, which was the 29th of July, not one was found: the fact being that the priests, during the time of the search, took refuge in the neighbouring mountains, rocks, and uninhabited places, and when it was over, returned to minister to the faithful by night, and in the morning before sunrise; and so the bishop and the rest, including myself, escaped

from their hands. In order to procure some peace and quiet for my colleagues, who are not so generally known as I was, I let it be understood at my departure, by means of a letter which I wrote to the judge of the district where Catholics are numerous, that I was quitting the country, so as to give no further motive for the persecution: to the end that he, having reported to the Council that he had driven me away, would be no longer urged on by the repeated orders of the Council, and of Ogilvie, the Secretary of State, to molest the others.

There are in Scotland ten fathers of the Society, of whom three are newly arrived, and two others a little before them. Five of them live in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh: two in the house of a country gentleman (Garleton), two with another gentleman ([Wauchope of] Niddry), the fifth in Edinburgh itself, with his nephew Mr Buchan. The other five had good lodging in the north: one in the house of Count Leslie, one with Lord Seaforth, one with Pirtcapel, one at Drumgash, one in his father's house at times, and at other times in the houses of the gentlemen already mentioned.

There are four Benedictines—one in Edinburgh, another at Aberdeen, a third with the Countess of Dunfermline, and the fourth assisting the Highland Bishop.

There are twenty-three priests, besides two schoolmasters and the Benedictines just mentioned, all maintained at the expense of the mission: ten in the Highlands (of whom eight are Irish and two Scotch), four in Banffshire, three in Aberdeenshire, one in Forfarshire, two in Edinburgh, and one twenty-five miles south of Edinburgh, in the district of Tweeddale, with the Earl of Traquair. The two schoolmasters are in the Highlands, where the Catholics are more numerous than in any other part of the country. The former superior of the mission resides in the house of the Duke of Gordon; and besides those already mentioned, some of the clergy have been banished, and within the last two years six of the best have died.

It is now sixteen months since the bishop, released from his long imprisonment in London, entered the mission, and at once repaired to the north of Scotland, where there are most Catholics, and where the faithful, deprived as they had been of episcopal supervision for about a hundred and twenty years, received him with unspeakable joy, acknowledging before God the greatness of the favour which they owe to the zeal of the Supreme Pontiff, Innocent XII. Here he occupied himself, now in discharging his episcopal office, confirming men and women of all ages, preaching, and instructing both clergy and people, and now as a simple missionary, visiting the sick, taking to them the sacraments, and receiving into the Church the properly disposed, whether sick or whole. Having in this way visited two provinces, for the most part on foot, he wished at the beginning of spring to go to the Highlands, where the language and manner of living are different; but he was obliged to postpone this journey for a year, being dissuaded from it by letters from the clergy, which reached him from all parts of the Highlands, testifying that it was impracticable that year for any stranger to visit those parts, owing to the want of bread: for three years in succession there had been no harvest, and in the low-lying districts the scarcity was so great that they had no meal to spare as in the two former years. So, seeing that he could not this summer make his way to the Highlands, he resolved to turn southwards, and to visit especially the districts of Lothian and Galloway, where there are a considerable number of scattered Catholics; but just as he was ready for the journey, he was stopped, until my departure, by the breaking out of this new persecution.

Such is the present state of the Scottish Mission, faithfully described to your Excellency, whose influence is not limited to promoting the interests of the Church at the Court of the Most Christian King, but can also do much, when aided by the knowledge of these calamitous events, to increase the Catholic faith in more distant countries. Wherefore I hum-

bly pray your Excellency, in the name of my bishop and of his clergy, to deign to favour me with your powerful recommendation to our Most Eminent patrons, the Cardinals of Propaganda; so that, under the shadow of your protection, I may the more successfully have recourse to the Holy See, to obtain light, strength, and consolation for my persecuted brethren.

VIII. (p. 151).

Extract from a Visitation Report of Thomas Nicolson, Vicar-Apostolic of Scotland, to the Congregation of Propaganda.[1]

(*Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit.* ii., 1701-1760.)

Summary of Report of the last visit made to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, by Mgr. Thomas Nicolson, Bishop of Peristachium, vicar-apostolic in the kingdom of Scotland, in the months of May, June, July, and August 1700.

5. From thence he travelled by rough and almost impassable paths, in order to avoid the soldiery, towards the west coast, which is inhabited by Catholics; and having arrived there on the fifth day, without having come across a single inn or human habitation, he began the visitation; and besides administering the sacraments, he left good regulations for all, to which the people as well as their pastors readily submitted. The rest of the summer he spent in visiting the greater part of the Islands.

6. The first station was in the Isle of Eigg, where he found all Catholics, three hundred in number, very constant in the faith, and always loyal to their sovereigns. A few years ago some of these islanders suffered martyrdom at the hands of an English pirate named Porringer, who held a knife to their

[1] The original is in Italian.

throats, and forced them either to renounce the Catholic faith or to die.

7. The second station was in the Isle of Canna, with 130 Catholics: after the visitation there he crossed over to the Isle of Uist, which has 1500 Catholics, nine hundred of whom were confirmed at twelve different stations, including Benbecula, a neighbouring island. The other inhabitants of these islands were passing the whole summer with their flocks and herds on remote mountains. The owner of this island, the chief of the clan Macdonald, and his cousin, a learned and zealous man, and a Catholic, showed sincere demonstrations of respect and welcome to the bishop and his companions during their visit.

8. Thence they sailed to Barra, which is under a chief of the family of *Mornigella* [MacNeill?], a venerable old man, and the authorised catechist of his people: every Sunday he instructs them in the fear of God and the purity of the true faith, and he has the merit of having thoroughly indoctrinated his people, and so kept them firm against the assaults of heresy.

9. In this island many people are under the power of a kind of vision, called by the natives *second sight*, in virtue of which they foresee and predict unexpected and wonderful events. This power is quite beyond their own control, and the effects actually correspond to the predictions. The bishop proposes certain spiritual remedies with a view to delivering these poor people, but desires to refer the matter to the impartial judgment of your Eminences. There are some other small inhabited islets, depending on Barra, and also fourteen which serve as pasture-ground for animals.

10. Towards the end of July he set sail to return to Scotland, those seas being dangerous from the middle of August to the end of spring. On his return he repeated his visit to Arisaig, Morar, Moydart, Knoydart, Glengarry, &c., districts and glens dominated by immense mountains. . . . During his visit he confirmed three thousand persons, pre-

scribed rules and stations for the priests, instituted two provicars, one Scotch, the other Irish (the latter is now in prison in Edinburgh), charging them to watch over the rest, to see that the regulations were observed, that a report was made to him twice a-year of the general state of the mission, and that notice was given to him at any time when his presence might be of service.

11. The necessity is evident of providing for these districts native missionaries; for it is exceedingly difficult for foreigners, considering the hardships and inevitable fatigues, to remain long in that part of the mission. The bishop, on his departure for the Lowlands, left ten missionaries, Irish and Scotch, of whom one was a Benedictine, the others secular priests and Franciscans; for the fathers of the Society are not accustomed to these districts.

15. At the time of the Covenant the chief of the Macleans imbibed heresy together with his education in Protestant colleges, and through him the whole of his powerful clan; the chief has now returned to the true faith, but lives in exile with his king, deprived of all his property: some other chiefs, such as the Macdonalds, MacNeills, &c., remained firm.

16. To conclude, the sons of the other chieftains, both greater and lesser, having been necessarily sent to Protestant colleges in order to obtain a liberal education, imbibed there not only learning but heresy, which they communicated to their friends and dependants, there being no missionaries to stand out against them. For at that time the fathers of the Society, unlike others, allowed no one else to enter the mission, thus excluding the clergy, and every priest who offered himself; while they themselves remained in the houses of Catholic nobles, without troubling themselves at all about the Highlands.

IX. (p. 177).

Extract from a Letter addressed by Abbot Bernard Stuart, of St James's, Ratisbon, to the Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda. Ratisbon, April 26, 1752.[1]

(*Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scritture riferit.* ii., 1752.)

This monastery of Ratisbon, which was always immediately subject to the Holy See, and the Mother and Visitor of all the others, has by the disasters of war and other calamities of the time, had its revenues greatly diminished. The fixed annual income is now a thousand florins, to which agricultural industry has added a nearly equal sum, so that we may place the whole yearly revenue at about two thousand florins, on which formerly eight, now seventeen monks are supported.

Thirty years ago the seminary was erected here for the education of Scottish youths, and the support of those religious who served the mission. To it the late Bishop of Eichstadt, of the family of Knebel,[2] previously deceased, assigned the sum of 20,000 florins, and during his lifetime punctually paid the annual interest of a thousand florins; but it has been impossible to obtain a single penny from his successors, as has been abundantly shown by the many letters written by my predecessor to your Eminence. Meanwhile, since the loss of this foundation, we have, by means of the greatest economy in food and clothing, continued to support the seminary from the scanty revenues of the monastery, inasmuch as its preservation seemed to us absolutely essential for the preservation of our three monasteries. Now, considering that out of this small annual sum of two thousand florins seventeen professed monks of the monastery, as well as eight youths in

[1] Translated from the Latin original.

[2] John Antony Knebel von Katzenellenbogen, Bishop of Eichstadt from 1705 to 1725. See Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, p. 274.

the seminary, together with the necessary domestic servants, have to be fed and clothed, the church to be provided with sacred vestments, candles, and other liturgical ornaments, and, finally, the ancient ecclesiastical and monastic buildings, and the seminary, to be kept in repair, it will easily appear how sparely, nay, miserably, we are obliged to live, and how impossible it is besides all this also to support missionaries in Scotland, unless one wished still further to burden with debt this monastery, already so greatly impoverished, and to expose to the cupidity of heretics, or at least of Germans, these poor remains of the formerly great possessions of the Scotch, as has happened to the fifteen Scottish monasteries now irrecoverably lost. That the same fate should not, to the great detriment of our country, overtake the three small houses which are left, must surely be the supreme care of every honest superior; and the more so, as each abbot binds himself by oath to preserve intact, to the best of his power, the property of the monastery.

Meanwhile I deplore the wretched condition of our country, and the poverty of the priests who labour there, all the more that I have some excellent men, well suited for the mission, who only await permission to enter the country and the Lord's vineyard; and since the loss of our missionary endowments I know of no other remedy, except that the S. Congregation of Propaganda should please to grant to our missionaries the same stipend as is enjoyed by the other missionaries in Scotland. In this case we will continue our missionary seminary, notwithstanding the loss of the endowments; and that such a course would be of the highest advantage to the faith, the Church, the mission, and our country, is proved by the following considerations:—

1. The vicars-apostolic are continually complaining of the paucity of priests fulfilling the work of the ministry in Scotland.

2. In this monastery there are, and always will be, good men who are capable of assisting in the work; but since

the loss of our endowments means to support them are wanting.

3. Our seminary is an institution of such a kind that excellent missionaries may always be expected to come from it; for the most promising youths are brought from Scotland at our expense, and are educated for eight years in the greatest innocence of life and morals; nor are any admitted to the religious life except such as show a true vocation and talents suitable for that state and for the missionary life.

4. The missionaries who are called to Scotland from this monastery undergo the same labours as the rest in the work of preserving and propagating the Catholic faith, and appear, therefore, to merit the same recompense.

5. The Ratisbon missionaries have hitherto owed nothing, and will owe nothing in future, to the S. Congregation up to the time of their actually entering upon the mission. They will receive their whole education free at the expense of this monastery, and await, without in any way burdening the Congregation, permission to enter the mission.

6. Finally, the missionaries who are called into Scotland from this seminary and monastery, know that when they have borne the burden and heat of the day in the vineyard of the Lord, and, broken with age, are unequal to bearing it longer, fresh labourers will be substituted, and they will be able to live quietly in the monastery; and thus with greater fervour and confidence and freedom from worldly cares, they will all cheerfully spend their strength in God's service.

In this way provision would be made for the mission in Scotland and for the preservation of the Scotch in Germany —a work which has been intrusted to my care both by the Holy See and by that of Mayence; and I can have no other and no better protector than your Eminence. Wherefore I most humbly beseech and entreat the Most Eminent Fathers who preside over the S. Congregation of Propaganda, so to dispose and watch over the matter, that the Scottish Mission and the interests of our countrymen in Germany may be,

under so august a protector, constantly provided for in the future.—I remain, while I live, your Eminence's most humble servant,

BERNARD STUART, Abbot (*manu propria*).

RATISBON, *April* 26, 1752.

X. (p. 186).

REPORT OF BISHOP GORDON, VICAR-APOSTOLIC, AND HIS CO-ADJUTOR, BISHOP WALLACE, TO PROPAGANDA, OCTOBER 15, 1723.[1]

(*Cod. Corsin.*, 856. 41. A. 6, pp. 313, 314.)

As the Bishop of Nicopolis[2] has lately returned from the Hebrides, and we are able to be for a short time together, we think it our duty to write to your Eminences as to the present state of the mission.

It is especially incumbent on us to render our most humble thanks for the three hundred scudi which your Eminences have so kindly granted to us in the great straits of the mission, and which were at once transmitted to us by Mr William Stuart, the procurator.

In the meantime, the preachers never cease to assail the Catholics, nay, their pride is ever on the increase: it is not sufficient for them to rage against our seminary and our schools with the greatest hatred and malice; in the remotest corners of Scotland they stir up the most violent enmity against us, and their ravings are heard in the most distant islands; in these districts especially where Catholics most abound, they are daily planning fresh evils; they have established there new conventions, or synods, of ministers, which they call presbyteries, and by which constant war is waged against the faithful, and continual annoyance inflicted on them. Hence, in those remote districts the bitterness of the

[1] Translated from the Latin original.

[2] Bishop Gordon.

persecution has been too much for a certain number of the faithful, against whom the ministers had excited the anger of their lords. But in these same places, a much greater number of the heretics are hastening into the bosom of the Church, and some of the lapsed have sincerely repented of their perfidy, and have been reconciled to their holy Mother, while the apostasy of others has been followed by manifest judgments of God. What is most to be deplored and dreaded, however, is the mortal enmity against us which has been displayed by the Court of Britain in a recent parliamentary decree, than which nothing can be imagined more cruel or fatal, and to which nothing similar was ever issued in these kingdoms; for by it they are endeavouring to annihilate the Catholic religion at one stroke. The pretext is a certain formula of abjuration of the king to whom the realm most assuredly belongs, according to the most fundamental and sacred rights and laws of the kingdom, whose violation entails the uprootal of the very foundations of the monarchy; but, as if in order to show clearly that what is really intended by this fatal law is the immediate destruction of Catholics, nothing can save them from ruin except the abjuration of the Catholic religion, and every individual article of the faith. It is marvellous, that the Catholic princes are so little affected by the most evident peril to the Catholic faith in these kingdoms, whereas the heretical princes are so greatly moved by the smallest matters which touch the interests of their sects in foreign countries. We therefore most urgently entreat our most holy lord, from whose heaven-sent authority and fervent zeal no one on earth can hide himself, to stir up and foment, through his nuncios, the ardour of the Catholic princes, which is now so cold.

In the midst of these perils and disasters, the missionaries persevere with brave and constant hearts; they yield to no terrors nor persecutions, nor are they anywhere lacking in their duties, but with burning zeal and immense labours bring to all the light of faith, and with no little success in many

districts, especially in the Highlands, of which we can affirm that there have not been for a long time so many heretics converted as in this year. The laity also display such strength of faith, and such firmness, that we know of hardly one in all Scotland who has abandoned the faith, except a few in one small island, the owner of which has used every kind of force and cunning in order to deceive and overthrow certain neophytes hardly established in the faith. Those missionaries who watch over the seminary and schools, although involved daily in the greatest dangers—for the ministers have hired to apprehend them men of abandoned character and ready for any crime—are yet so far from lessening or intermitting their care and diligence, that they are rather increasing the assiduity of their labours. Hence both seminary and schools are still flourishing, in spite of the fury of the ministers; and, indeed, we have made friends of not a few of the more moderate among the heretics themselves, who may afford us refuge and protection when dangers and difficulties seem otherwise insurmountable, and whose help we may be compelled to use to prevent our seminary and schools being blotted out altogether. Thus, in case of necessity, we may withdraw them from the eyes of our enemies, not despising human means and assistance as far as lawful; but to Him alone we trust, from whose power and wisdom nothing is exempt, who will easily break the snares of the hunters, that we may be delivered, either by granting us patience to endure to the end, or by bestowing on our labours success greater than our hopes.

The Bishop of Cyrrha,[1] albeit sick and infirm, has spent the past summer and autumn travelling through the Lowlands, strengthening and confirming some, reconciling others who had fallen out, animating and consoling all by word and example, and in some places, where priestly help was wanting, administering to the faithful the sacraments and other spiritual assistance.

[1] Bishop Wallace.

Bishop Gordon, immediately after the last letter, made his way to the remote Highland districts, and the Western Islands, in the visitation of which he spent three months and more; during which time he endured no slight labours, and administered the sacrament of confirmation to 2090 persons, the majority of the adults being converts, and among them many notabilities. In each of the districts and islands which he visited, a certain number of heretics made profession of the Catholic faith before his departure, or some similar occurrence took place, to the consolation of the faithful and the increase of religion. He went to some places, and bestowed there the benefit of confirmation, where no bishop had ever been before; visiting principally those localities where the people were much oppressed by fear of persecution, and these he not only encouraged and fortified, but inspired into them no little hope and consolation. He put an end to dissensions which prevailed among various noble families, arranged for the establishment of a new school, and endeavoured to check rising scandals, and, as far as possible, to help the necessities of the people. Finally, he strengthened and animated the faithful, of whom a certain number in most places were timid, and over-terrified by the threats and perils of more serious persecutions.

These are the matters which it seemed right to us to lay before your Eminences, whom may our most gracious Lord long safely preserve to this mission, and to His Universal Church, and load with heavenly blessings; as is the fervent prayer of your Eminences' most humble and obedient servants,

JAMES, Bishop of Nicopolis, Vicar-Apostolic in Scotland.
JOHN, Bishop of Cyrrha, Coadjutor V.-A. in Scotland.

SPEYMOUTH, *October* 15, 1723.

XI. (p. 186).

Extract from a Letter of Bishops Gordon and Wallace (Coadjutor) to Propaganda, August 13, 1726.[1]

(*Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit.* ii., 1726.)

Monsignor James Gordon, Bishop of Nicopolis, Vicar-Apostolic in Scotland, and Monsignor the Bishop of Cyrrha, his coadjutor, in their common letter, dated August 13 of this year, give a clear account of the state of their extensive mission, which is generally disturbed and afflicted by the persecutions of the heretics. Notwithstanding, they represent that in the district, or, as they call it, the province of the Lowlands, our holy religion has not suffered much, thanks to the assiduous and solicitous care of the missionaries, who in turn have been consoled by the vigilance of both their bishops, and by their frequent visits, during which they have held sundry congresses and conferences with the missionaries, for the maintenance and propagation of the faith. God has blessed their labours with many *conversions*, as they describe them, of which they give the particulars, and of which one of the most notable was the reconciliation of a priest, who two years ago turned Protestant with great scandal, for which he has now made reparation by public penance, and afterwards by an exemplary death. Moreover, the seminary, in spite of all the persecution, not only has not deteriorated, but the number of Catholic students has increased, as has been the case also with the schools, which are everywhere firmly established.

In the Highland districts the recent persecution has been most violent, insomuch that in the memory of man none such can be recalled, and it is asserted to be the most serious outbreak that has occurred there for 160 years. They [the bishops] describe the cause of this, which they attribute to

[1] Translated from an Italian copy (dated December 13, 1726) of the original letter, which appears to be lost.

the rancour generated in the Calvinists by the fact that the number of Catholics in the Highlands has increased threefold, and that notwithstanding all their efforts to crush them —among other means, the institution of a kind of society, or what we should call a congregation, intended, as already related, to send out agents and preachers to propagate heresy—the Catholics remain constant in their religion, and repair publicly to the churches, while neophytes are continually on the increase, owing to the indefatigable care of the labourers in the sacred work. Expeditions of soldiers have been organised in various places, for the purpose of apprehending the missionaries and their converts, a good number of whom have been imprisoned. . . . But with regard to these, the heretics have not gained much advantage by their evil intent, for the Catholics have not yielded to their fury, nor have the ministers ceased to do their duty with all fervour. As a subsidy to the latter, the vicar-apostolic has sent them . . . employing for this purpose the grant of 500 scudi made to him last year by this Sacred Congregation.

Among their trials, however, these numerous and faithful Catholics have lacked the principal source of help and comfort which they received in the past, in the frequent visits of the vicar-apostolic, owing to his present incompetency, by reason of his age and indisposition, to make these long and perilous journeys: nor could the coadjutor supply his place in those districts, not only for the same reasons, but likewise because he has no skill in the language there spoken, which is totally different from that of the Lowlands. Hence the vicar-apostolic, considering the great need which these people have of a bishop who may constantly assist them, who speaks their language, and who may be always ready to succour their spiritual needs, especially as it is foreseen that there is no present prospect of the persecution ceasing, ventures to propose, and to supplicate your Eminences to deign to grant to the Catholics of the said Highland district a vicar-apostolic of their own—a project which is deemed most

advantageous and necessary by all the most experienced missionaries, and by all the nobles and chief men of these parts—leaving to him and to his coadjutor the province of the Lowlands.

King James of England,[1] in a very strong letter written to the Most Eminent Cardinal-Prefect, also insists very warmly on this step, and he does the same in another letter transmitted to His Eminence for presentation to our lord [the Pope[2]]. Both agree in suggesting and recommending for the office, as more suitable than any one else, the priest Father Alexander John Grant, a native of those parts, adorned with every quality requisite to one called to such a ministry, educated in the Scotch College of this city, where he studied philosophy and theology, and maintained in the Roman College, with much praise, a public thesis on the constitution *Unigenitus*. He is strong and hardy of constitution, aged about thirty-three years, of which he has spent seven as a useful and zealous missionary in Scotland, always under the immediate supervision of the vicar-apostolic, and perfectly known to the agent of the Scotch clergy, who gives the most favourable report of him.

XII. (p. 188).

Report of Bishops Gordon and Wallace (Coadjutor) to Propaganda, July 4, 1730.

(*Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit.* ii., 1730.)

Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lords,

Since we last addressed letters to your Eminences, although no general persecution has raged here against the faithful, yet in certain districts, owing to the cruel instigation of the preachers, they have been very severely treated by the

[1] James III., commonly called the Old Pretender.
[2] Benedict XIII. (1724-1730.)

authorities. In the Island of Mull, for example, out of several respectable persons who had embraced the Catholic faith, one, who was the best known, has been thrown into prison, another has been forced to leave the kingdom, while others have had to quit that part of the country, and have hardly been able to find a living anywhere else. In most of the districts where Catholics are comparatively numerous, the ministers annoy them in a thousand ways, lay snares to catch them, and in the case of poor persons especially, when they will not conform to their wishes, get the magistrates to harass and fine them.

We suffer under various other troubles, for on the one hand the ministers are multiplied, together with their catechists and schoolmasters, especially in those places where Catholics abound, are often thrust upon an unwilling people, and when they can, and dare, under the protection of the local landowners, drag into their temples, even by employing force, farmers, artificers, and other poorer Catholics, beating and driving them with clubs when they make vigorous resistance. On the other hand, the number of missionaries diminishes, and will further diminish, some of them abandoning us on account of the want which they suffer here, others with their strength exhausted, and labouring under infirmities and diseases; while many others again threaten every day to quit the mission, since we are unable to supply them even with a tolerable subsistence. Most urgently, therefore, do we entreat your Eminences to have compassion on this mission thus miserably languishing, and to deign to afford some succour to its very great needs. We, for our part, as long as life remains, will not shrink from labour, and as far as old age, infirmity, and sickness allow, will frequently traverse the whole country; but many parts we cannot visit without deep lamentation, seeing as we do so many souls perishing who would cheerfully receive the faith, had we only labourers who might reside in their midst and instruct them in religion, and seeing, too, not only countless little

ones seeking spiritual bread, and we can give none to break it to them, but also aged Catholics in great numbers, to whom there is no one to administer the sacraments and other spiritual helps.

We have received the subsidy of 400 scudi generously granted by your Eminences, and most humbly thank you for it. This sum, however, could only suffice to restore to life for a time some of our half-famished missionaries, but it could not provide for the continued support of clergy in those districts especially where we so much desired to place them. There are very many heretics who aspire to the faith and implore our help, often entreating in tearful accents that Catholic priests may be stationed among them, and promising that if they are not abandoned by them they will profess the faith with great readiness and constancy. We cannot without much grief listen to men of this kind, so piously inclined towards the faith, and we grieve for them the more bitterly, inasmuch as in very many cases we have had good proof of their sincerity. For after the Bishop of Nicopolis returned to Scotland, and made assiduous and frequent endeavours to visit the Highland districts, in one place where there were only about twenty of the faithful, now, since after some time a pastor was placed there, there are at least seventy. In another there were a hundred and fifty, more or less, now there are six hundred and more; in another, again, there were very few, now they are greatly multiplied. The number of the faithful is, in fact, twice, thrice, in some places even four times as great as it formerly was. This, however, we can most positively assert, that if in all these districts there had been up to now only as few missionaries or pastors as there formerly were, we should never have rejoiced in seeing so plentiful a harvest. But now, unless your Eminences listen to the pious and plaintive prayers of so many souls sighing for the faith, and generously assist this mission, not only will innumerable souls be plunged in despair into the gulf of perdition, but there is, moreover, the greatest danger

that the number of the faithful will greatly diminish, while those who are ignorant or careless, deprived of their pastors, are corrupted by the endless wiles and menaces of the preachers.

There is now above all an urgent need, as we have more than once pointed out to your Eminences, of appointing a bishop for the Highland district; for it is in that quarter that there is the greatest danger from the preachers, since there especially heretical ministers and pernicious schools are increasing; and in that region especially there are many places in which there is excellent hope of gaining large numbers of souls, if we had the means of stationing several missionaries among them. Those Highland districts have already suffered no little detriment from being so long destitute of a bishop, more particularly since the time when the name of Mr Alexander John *Grant* was submitted to your Eminences.[1] But since he has either departed this life, or persistently rejects, with too great humility, the burden of the episcopate, we are compelled to bring before the notice of your Eminences another person whom we judge fit for the sacred office—namely, Mr Hugh *Macdonald*, a scion of one of the noblest branches of the family of the Macdonalds, whose influence and numbers are very great among the faithful in the Highlands. He himself is distinguished even more for his zeal and piety than for his honourable birth, and is also a man of singular prudence and modesty. He was educated, and completed his studies here in our seminary, applying himself chiefly to those branches which are of the greatest use for the confutation of heretics, or the solid instruction of Catholics in the faith and in true piety; but he never travelled to the Catholic countries abroad in which there are colleges for our countrymen. He is, moreover, a *persona grata* to the priests labouring in the Highlands, as well as to the most distinguished and most prudent of the laity, to whom we were able safely to confide this plan of ours.

[1] See *ante*, pp. 187, 188.

The Bishop of Nicopolis has recently visited the greater part of the Lowland district, also some of the less remote portions of the Highlands, as well as the schools and seminary, and although he is harassed with many cares and troubles, nothing fills his soul with so much grief and sadness as the cry of many peoples asking for missionaries, whom he is unable to place amongst them, having nothing to provide for their support. He is, moreover, overwhelmed with the complaints of many of the priests, who are ground down by such penury that they say they can live no longer on the mission; and this sort of complaint, which indeed fell on his ears painfully enough before, has now increased so immensely that it causes him intolerable anguish, since it is out of his power to apply any remedy. And he laments the more bitterly over the deplorable condition of the people committed to him, inasmuch as he himself, borne down by age and sickness, cannot visit or assist them so diligently or frequently, and now, instead of the abundant spiritual harvest which he might once have hoped for (had not the missionaries been so few, and those that there were were abandoning the mission, or growing weak from want) he rather has good cause to fear that the fruit of so many labours may in great part perish. We cannot therefore but implore your Eminences, most humbly and most urgently, to send labourers into this your vineyard, by graciously bestowing the wherewithal to support them.

The Bishop of Cyrrha, in the spring, fell very dangerously ill of a complaint which in one of his advanced age there seemed little reason to fear, namely hemorrhage, which frequently recurred, and reduced him to the greatest weakness. And although he appears to be gradually recovering some measure of strength, it is impossible to hope that a man in his seventy-sixth year, thus weakened, can ever be fully restored. . . . Meanwhile, as far as his health allows, he watches with great zeal over the mission in the southern districts.

Of the missionaries, one left the mission and the country

at the beginning of winter; another complains that his health has been altogether destroyed by the hardships which he has endured on the mission, and threatens to depart at once; and not a few of the remainder are beginning to cry out that what with the loss of strength and health it is not possible for them to remain long on the mission.

Our grief permits us to write on no other subject except these troubles to your Eminences, whom may God long preserve in safety to this mission, and to the Universal Church, as is the fervent prayer of your Eminences' most humble and obedient servants,

✠ James, Bishop of Nicopolis,
Vicar-Apostolic in Scotland.
✠ John, Bishop of Cyrrha, Coadjutor.

Speymouth, *July* 4, 1730.

XIII. (p. 190).

Report of Bishop Hugh Macdonald, Vicar-Apostolic of the Highlands, to Propaganda, March 18, 1732.[1]

(*Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit.* ii., 1732.)

Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lords,

Since I now have the honour of expressing for the first time in writing to your Eminences my sentiments of reverence towards your Sacred Congregation, no duty appears more incumbent on me than to render my most humble thanks for your gracious opinion of me; which, however, should I fail to justify, there will be little cause to wonder. For it has pleased your Eminences to place upon me a burden which even angels might fear to bear, and the duties of which are so high and heavenly, that my weakness cannot but stagger and fall under their weight. I have therefore no con-

[1] Translated from the Latin original. The change of style in this and the following letter is interesting. Bishop Macdonald's latinity is exceedingly pure and elegant.—Translator.

fidence in myself; for when I seriously consider my own littleness, and the high dignity conferred upon me, who am utterly unequal to supporting it, as well as the manifold duties which pertain to it, I am struck with terror on every side. My one only hope is in the immense loving-kindness of the Father of mercies, who gives abundantly to all who hope in Him, and richly rewards all who call upon Him. Relying, therefore, on His goodness, I may venture to promise this one thing, that by His assistance I will spare no labour, but will ever strive, as far as my weakness allows, to perform neither negligently nor perfunctorily the sacred functions of the sublime office with which I am unworthily invested. To this, moreover, I am exhorted, and inspired with no little courage, by the munificence of your Eminences, who, while loading me with this heavy burden, at the same time endeavour to relieve my temporal wants. For I have recently been informed by letter that your Eminences, such is your liberality towards me, are granting me an annual pension of 200 scudi, and have besides given 100 more for episcopal ornaments. Such generosity as this impels me not only to render you my most humble thanks, but also to profess with all my heart the most unbounded obedience and reverence towards your Sacred Congregation and the Holy Apostolic See.

Thus supported by your Eminences' paternal goodwill towards me, immediately after my consecration (which took place in Edinburgh) I hastened to the remote Highland districts; in particular, to those places which seemed to stand most in need of pastoral care and vigilance, and where, to shorten my story, the pitiable needs of the faithful whom I came to assist, in so great a scarcity of labourers, did not suffer me to be indolent or idle. When I had laboured here for some months, the wretched state of matters revealed itself to me. The enormous tracts of country which, owing to the prevailing poverty, are necessarily assigned to each priest, vanquish even the unwearied labours of the most diligent of pastors.

In the place of certain deceased priests, necessity has compelled the appointment of others from districts further south; and these, although of Highland family, want of practice has rendered almost useless at our mountain language, which they lost when studying at the colleges abroad. The faithful grievously deplore this scarcity of pastors; and while others enjoy in abundance every convenience for their spiritual welfare, they constantly complain that their souls are starving, by reason, not of the negligence, but of the fewness, of labourers in the vineyard. A great number of the heretics lament, in presence of the bishop or priest, with groans, tears, and words that might move stones, over their own unhappy errors and blindness; and having at length discovered the impiety, avarice, and carelessness of their ministers, and had their eyes opened to certain enormous errors, implore the help of Holy Mother Church, and ask with continual and unspeakable eagerness for Catholic pastors. Hence the greatest sorrow is enkindled in my heart, seeing as I do that the number of labourers amongst us who are versed in the Highland tongue is so scanty, that they are not only insufficient to assist Protestants of the kind I have described, but even the very Catholics themselves.

Accordingly, when I considered what remedy could be applied to so deplorable an evil, the most efficacious means appeared to me to be that a seminary should be established in our Highland district, for the education of boys suitable for the ecclesiastical state. It will thus come about that there will be a supply of students, more advanced and better tested, to send to the foreign colleges, whilst others, ordained here in the country, will supplement the scanty number who come from abroad after their ordination. Out of the many young Highlanders who, after as careful selection as possible, have been sent to the Continent, various adverse circumstances have caused a large number to abandon their studies and the idea of ecclesiastical life, to return to the vanities of the world, and so belie the hopes which had been formed of

them. But if only after due probation in the seminary, and progress in their studies, they are sent to the colleges, it is to be hoped that more will bring their studies to a successful issue, and adhere to their proposed manner of life; and so, their number being added to those who have been trained at home, there will be in future such a supply of priests as will suffice to mitigate or put an end to the complaints, outcry, and tears both of Catholics and heretics. On the other hand, without such an institution it seems clear to me that faith and religion will never greatly increase in those parts; for there is very great danger that in the scarcity of priests under which, in the absence of a seminary, we must always labour, many of the weaker Catholics may be ensnared and caught by the wiles and cunning of the ministers, catechists, and schoolmasters, who are daily thrust in greater numbers upon our people. But as our Highlanders are for the most part poor, we shall have no means of undertaking so pious, useful, and necessary a work, unless your Eminences give us a helping hand. I cannot, therefore, but urgently commend the whole matter to the charity and zeal of your Eminences; for if it fall to the ground, not only all our labour will be well-nigh vain and fruitless, but we foresee also the lamentable loss of countless perishing souls. I am now making ready to commence my visitation of the Hebrides and other remote districts, in the course of which I shall leave untried no means which may seem to be of assistance towards the speedy inauguration of the seminary, trusting in your Eminences' generosity, which I have already abundantly experienced in my regard, and which I hope will never be wanting to our future labours and efforts in the cause of religion.—That God may long preserve your Eminences to this mission, and to the Universal Church, is the sincere and fervent prayer of, your Eminences' very humble and obedient servant,

✠ Hugh, Bishop of Diana,
Vicar-Apostolic in the Highlands of Scotland.

Laggan, Glengarry, *March* 18, 1732.

XIV. (p. 193).

REPORT OF BISHOPS MACDONALD AND SMITH (VICARS-APOSTOLIC) AND GRANT (COADJUTOR) TO PROPAGANDA. EDINBURGH, NOVEMBER 20, 1755.[1]

(*Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit.* ii., 1755.)

MOST EMINENT AND MOST REVEREND LORDS,

Since by the providence of God we are all three here together, and it is quite uncertain when this may happen again, it is necessary that we should write a joint letter to the S. Congregation, to render our most humble and hearty thanks for their continual charity and innumerable benefits to our mission, and in particular for the recent concession of a coadjutor to the aged vicar-apostolic, in the conduct of which affair the Bishop of Misinopolis[2] proved that he had duly performed what he had promised not long before. And assuredly the nomination made by the S. Congregation, by which God showed whom He had chosen (and this was the one thing that we desired) was received with the greatest joy by both vicars, as well as by the rest of the clergy. Only the elect himself was so afflicted with sorrow, that being, as he was, before infirm, he was wellnigh killed by the bitterness of his grief, which it was vainly attempted to soothe by means of conversations and frequent letters. When the latter proved of no avail, Bishop Smith made a journey to the north, and brought him back with him hither, in spite of his reluctance. A reply, according to the urgent demand of the bishop, having been received from the Cardinal Protector (to whom the elect had written pleading his ill health), the latter, still refusing to yield, asked for dimissorial letters to Rome, where he hoped to be able more easily to excuse himself from the office, on account of his infirmity; but here also he suffered a repulse, and at length when he had moved every stone to

[1] Translated from the Latin original.

[2] Bishop Smith.

find a means of escape, as he desired with all his heart, he was compelled to submit. According, by the help of God, on the 2d of November (Sunday within the Octave of All Saints) he was consecrated Bishop of Sinita, as he will duly make known by letters patent to be transmitted to Rome at the first safe opportunity; and he himself will set out for the north as soon as possible.

In the meantime, Bishop Hugh of Diana, who had previously been forced, by the search that his enemies were making for him, to retire to the Highlands, came to Edinburgh at the beginning of summer on affairs of business; and here it was thought that he might remain hid for a time. But having been betrayed by an infamous spy, he was charged with being an enemy of the State; and when no proof whatever of this accusation was forthcoming, he was thrown into the prison of Edinburgh on the customary ground of being a Roman Catholic priest. After a fortnight he was released, on account of the state of his health; but on these rigorous conditions, that he should quit Edinburgh in two days, and repair to Dunse, on the borders of England, from which place he was not to go more than four miles before the 15th of November; and on that day he was to come up for judgment, or else to pay a fine (for which he had to give security) amounting to more than twelve hundred Roman scudi. Accordingly, when he appeared on the appointed day, he was strongly urged himself to ask to be sent into exile: this, however, he utterly refused to do, and his bail having been extended for another month, he was ordered to hold himself again in readiness; nor is there much doubt that he will be sentenced to banishment, under pain of death if he ever returns to Scotland; for this, according to our laws, is bound to be the decision of the judges. What, in consequence, will be the loss to the faithful! This consideration only it is which fills the bishop with the greatest grief; meanwhile eighty scudi have been awarded to his captor out of the royal Treasury in return for his good services. The usual reward has in like manner been

granted to two soldiers for apprehending two priests, one of them being Alexander Macdonald, who some months ago was long detained in prison here, and then outlawed: afterwards he fell very seriously ill, and now there is no hope of his life. He will leave behind him great regret for so tender a shepherd. . . . This same year Mr John Tyrie has been suddenly removed by death, after ministering to a numerous flock with great energy for many years: we shall also lose, only too soon, greatly to our sorrow, R. Father Robert Shand, a Benedictine monk of Ratisbon. . . .

In the many and great troubles under which we are labouring, it is very manifest how much we need the help of our most gracious patrons. Nothing could more conduce to the advantage of the Catholics, than that the two little Catechisms, which were long ago sent to Rome, should be speedily returned to us, after such revision or change as may have seemed expedient. On the other hand, nothing could be more hurtful than their detention longer, which may God forbid. About this most important matter I have written more fully to the Cardinal Protector. We most humbly entreat, therefore, that our most gracious patrons would deign to give ear to this, the first petition of James of Sinita, and the last of the Bishop of Misinopolis.—That God may long preserve you safely to the whole Christian world, and in particular to this afflicted Church, is the most fervent prayer of, your Eminences' most humble and obedient servants,

✠ Hugh, Bishop of Diana,
Vicar-Apostolic in Scotland.
✠ Alexander, Bishop of Misinopolis,
Vicar-Apostolic in Scotland.
✠ James, Bishop,
Coadjutor to the Bishop of Misinopolis.

XV. (p. 195).

Reports of Bishops Gordon (Vicar-Apostolic) and Smith (Coadjutor) to Propaganda. Edinburgh, February 5, 1743.[1]

(*Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit.* ii., 1743.)

Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lord,

It is now long since we have written to your Eminence, as we have been expecting every month—nay, every week—to receive the welcome news of the gracious decrees of the Sacred Congregation regarding Scottish affairs, after the various letters which both we ourselves, and other missionaries, had written with reference to the melancholy state of this mission. We were in hopes that these decrees would be highly favourable to us, and that we should receive them at an early day, especially as it was reported to us that they were already in the hands of your Eminence. But now our hope has been so long delayed, and the joy with which we did not doubt we should be filled, since we knew well that if decrees were issued in our favour by the S. Congregation the affairs of this mission would go on much more happily and more to the advantage of the Catholic Faith; but on the other hand, as things now are, so long as factions, dissensions, and quarrels go on among the very labourers themselves, it cannot be that our holy religion should be held in honour, or make successful progress, or that the conversions of heretics should be as frequent as they were wont to be. In truth, these bitter dissensions and disturbances and divisions, not having been at the very beginning, when they first raised their heads, beaten down and suppressed by supreme authority, will always live and flourish amongst us, unless that authority not only takes notice of them, but promptly strikes and puts an end to them. We implore,

[1] Translated from the Latin original.

therefore, and entreat your Eminence to be graciously pleased at length to comfort, raise up, and strengthen us, placed as we are in so wretched and deplorable a position; and this will be done to so much the greater joy and profit to the mission, the more speedily the gracious decrees of the S. Congregation are transmitted to us. If, however, we have done anything to excite the anger and displeasure of your Eminence against us, it is totally unknown to us, nor are we conscious of having committed any such fault. Hence we shall esteem it a great favour to receive intimation of the same, in order that we may endeavour to acknowledge, repair, and atone for it, with the greatest possible submission and reverence, as we are most ready to do.

All this time, during which we have been expecting fresh strength and weight to be added to our authority by the S. Congregation and your Eminence, we have not been living in idleness, nor have we ceased the laborious exercise of all the functions of our ministry. In the winter before last the Bishop of Misinopolis, while his aged colleague of Nicopolis remained in Edinburgh, journeyed to the northern districts (in which the Catholics are much more numerous than in the south), and visited many of those parts, doing everything in his power to alleviate the necessities, both temporal and spiritual, of the faithful. After Easter he returned to Edinburgh, for the meeting of the senior missionaries which was to be held there, and at which all the affairs of the mission were so carefully examined and discussed, chiefly by his assistance, that no doubt regarding their proper administration could hereafter remain to any of those who had before complained so loudly. This last summer, whilst he was making his pastoral visits to many districts, his right arm was by accident seriously bruised, and this being not yet completely healed, he has been compelled to pass this winter in Edinburgh. As for the Bishop of Nicopolis, during these two years he has spent five or six months, in summer time, in the north, has visited these various districts, and has

endeavoured with as much vigilance and zeal as possible to encourage both clergy and people, and to put down certain scandals. In particular, he made diligent inquiry everywhere as to whether anything had been either said or done by any one against the faith, but this he found to have been nowhere the case. He was compelled, however, about two years ago to punish the insolence and calumnies of a certain Jesuit father, by suspending him from his faculties: the latter, after remaining eight months in this condition, at last to some extent acknowledged his fault, and made a general promise that he would henceforth take diligent heed that no one should be justly offended by word or deed of his; however, he did not afterwards desist from his unruly behaviour and schismatical manner of action.

During the past summer we have lost a missionary of very advanced age, Mr Alexander Drummond, a learned and pious man, who had toiled for forty-five years in this portion of the Lord's vineyard. About eight months previously died also Mr William Shand, who for about twenty-two years had been engaged in the same pious labours.

A certain number of heretics are from time to time returning to the fold of Christ, and in most districts there are several zealous missionaries who leave nothing undone both to reclaim sinners and to draw aliens into the bosom of the Catholic Church. But alas for our misery! The conversion of heretics does not advance, nor do such examples of virtue and of holy life shine forth among Catholics as was the case in past times, in those bygone years when concord and unity and peace and charity flourished. We have often, with great sorrow, complained of the disturbing factions and seditious combinations formed by certain of the missionaries; and would that we could at length hope that an end might be put to them, so that we might be able to breathe freely for a time, and peacefully rejoice in the work of our sacred office! But they do not cease with their seditious and turbulent language to disturb the mission, and greatly to

obstruct the progress of the faith. For while, on the one hand, they harass by their malicious arts the best and most useful of our missionaries, on the other they deceive and impose upon some of the younger clergy by their calumnies, seducing such of their penitents as are weak or ill-disposed by underhand suspicions and whispered insinuations, and turning them against the others. We cannot think without tears of the immense obstacle that this causes to true piety and the propagation of the faith, and of the probability of its exciting against us the anger and vengeance of God. If they are allowed to persist with impunity in this odious and detestable course, it is impossible to predict what will be the result of this deplorable state of religion amongst us. A few disaffected persons are constantly and publicly striving to disparage by their calumnies, and, as far as they can, to bring into contempt and render useless by their slanderous words, our most hard-working missionaries, who are labouring with the greatest fruit for the conversion of heretics and the edification of the faithful; whilst they themselves are useless in every respect, making themselves, as they do, odious by their actions, and depriving themselves by their malice of the divine blessing. It is certainly to be feared that the best of the missionaries will be compelled to abandon the Lord's vineyard, as indeed they have threatened more than once, unless a remedy be applied to the many evils in which we are involved; and we ourselves shall be obliged to abdicate our authority, rather than continue to labour fruitlessly and in vain, and see perpetually with the greatest sorrow and constant tears, and vainly deplore, so many evils and scandals which we are unable to heal. If, however, we are to remain in authority here, we must necessarily use it for the correction and repression of these men. Now they actually dare to accuse and secretly calumniate us at the supreme tribunal, and never cease insinuating into the ears of the common people, and their own evilly disposed clients, their stupid slanders against us. If, however, the supreme judges will

deign to make public the charges brought against us, it will not be difficult both to confound our accusers and to clear ourselves, and a way of vindicating our own innocence will be opened to us; so that we shall not for all time be evil spoken of, though blameless, nor our enemies always glory and triumph in their wrong-doing. And if we punish these calumniators by censures, the eyes of simple folk will be quickly opened, our reputation will be safe, and it will be clear to all what manner of men these really are. Were the Bishop of Diana here present with us, he would approve of what we now write, and when he comes he will without doubt write himself in the same sense. This is what we thought it our duty to write to you, humbly begging your Eminence to communicate it to the S. Congregation.—That God may preserve you in prosperity, for the consolation of His Church and of this Mission, is the fervent prayer of, your Eminence's most humble and obedient servants,

JAMES, Bishop of Nicopolis, Vicar-Apostolic
in the Lowlands of Scotland.
ALEXANDER, Bishop of Misinopolis, Coadjutor.

EDINBURGH, *February* 5, 1743.

XVI. (p. 196).

REPORT OF BISHOP SMITH (VICAR-APOSTOLIC) TO PROPAGANDA, DECEMBER 13, 1747.

(*Arch. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit.* ii., 1747.)

MOST EMINENT AND MOST REVEREND LORDS,

We had already written at length to the S. Congregation; but learning that our letter could not be transmitted (which is now a much more difficult matter than before) it is necessary to write again more shortly. Soon after our letter of last year the Bishop of Misinopolis set out for the north,

against the wish of many persons who thought that the danger was too great; however, considering the urgent needs of the mission, he deemed it his duty at all events to make the attempt, and by God's help he carried out his plan successfully, and visited with as little delay as possible the districts destitute of pastors, administered the sacraments to the faithful, and endeavoured to revive, sustain, and console their flagging spirits. Many of the priests had been driven away; those, however, who had remained at their posts still continued to minister to their people, and he found them all, notwithstanding so many privations and dangers, quite ready to perform their accustomed duties. Only Mr A. Godsman, who had been liberated after a short imprisonment,[1] was in a very timid state; but Mr Paterson, who had also been apprehended, but afterwards restored to his place, recommenced his former exercises, as did also Mr William Reid and Mr D. G. Duncan.

When the Bishop of Misinopolis had met each of the missionaries, had given them advice suitable to their several circumstances, and fixed the different stations, he assigned the places which were without pastors to the care of the nearest priests; as, for example, the district round the river Dee, where the Rev. Father Leith, a Cistercian, had recently died, after about fifteen years' arduous labours—a great lover of peace. . . . The Rev. Father A. Gordon, S.J., also died in captivity: he had laboured with great zeal and energy, and was greatly opposed to the spirit of faction.[2] Three fathers of the same society, now in the north, with a number of others in the south, as well as the rest of the clergy, diligently minister to the faithful committed to them.

In the course of this visitation, what he had already heard of with sorrow he was now still more grieved to see,—namely, not only demolished and burnt-down houses where religious

[1] He had been confined at Fochabers, but only apparently for one day.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] He died in prison at Inverness, May 1746.—TRANSLATOR.

assemblies were formerly held, and the seminary of Scalan in the same condition, but also — still more melancholy spectacle—the ruin of spiritual edifices. To this latter evil, however, a more prompt and efficacious remedy seems to be forthcoming, by the divine goodness, than to the external loss; for the bishop has already himself recovered some of the wanderers, and has learned that others are returning, and has taken counsel with his clergy for the bringing back of the remainder.

After the bishop had travelled through the districts on the east coast, he endeavoured, through the respective superiors of the missions, to establish by written documents the arrangements which he had already made in different places.

Easter being past, and certain business matters transacted, he visited the northern districts, and did his best to complete the work begun in the previous visitation, and to carry through a little more fully what he had been unable to do before. But though the violence of the storm was now over, tranquillity did not at once follow; nay, the exterior wounds, there being no one to heal them, even grew worse, but our internal losses, by God's goodness, are in many cases being repaired, for many who through fear or fraud had fallen away are now returning. Some, indeed, persist in their errors, but this loss is to a certain extent compensated by others, who in spite of dangers flock to the Church of their own accord; and these, if not equally numerous, are at all events greatly superior in merit to the former.

With reference to the priests of the same vicariate, Mr Campbell has died from the effects of his wounds,[1] and Father A. Cameron, S.J.,[2] has succumbed to the fatigues occasioned by his voyages. Mr A. Macdonald and Mr A.

[1] Colin Campbell, a brother of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, and a convert to Catholicism. He was present at Culloden, and received there the wounds of which he died.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] See Butler, *Hist. Memoirs* (3d edit.), vol. ii. p. 445. F. Cameron died in captivity at Gravesend, Oct. 19, 1746.—TRANSLATOR.

Forrester, and Fathers John and Charles Farquharson, S.J.,[1] after a lengthened imprisonment on board ship, have finally been banished. Mr James Grant, infirm before, and still more so now after long imprisonment, is not yet able to return to the Highlands. These having been taken from us, and Father Colgan, an Irish friar, being also absent, the only ones now left are Mr Angus Maclauchlan, who, though worn out with labours, old age, and sickness, still ministers to certain of the faithful; . . . also Mr William Harrison[2] and Mr Angus MacGillis, who travel alone, with great zeal, through the western districts, and penetrate as far as the distant islands. All these the bishop as soon as he was able, and thereafter as often as occasion offered, has consoled and exhorted by letters. Lastly, he saw in Braemar Father Gordon, S.J., diligently labouring, and thence he returned to Edinburgh by way of the mountains of Athole.

As soon as the bishop was able to visit and encourage the priests, next after spiritual motives he chiefly made use of this argument—which appeared to them a very effectual one—that all the three bishops had long ago written at full length to the S. Congregation about our internal disturbances, that they had also laid the recent troubles before our most eminent Protectors, from whom the proper remedies for evils of every kind were to be looked for. Moreover, when

[1] Alan Macdonald had been one of the companions of Charles Edward. After more than a year's imprisonment (1746-47) in Newgate and on board a man-of-war, he was banished for life; but he returned to Scotland in 1748, and laboured on the mission till his death in 1781.

Alexander Forrester, a native of Ross, spent many years on the mission in Uist. He also was imprisoned and banished in 1746, but returned to Scotland two years later.

Fathers Charles and John Farquharson, S.J., were brothers, natives of Braemar. The former survived until 1793.

Father John served the mission of Strathglass for many years; he was apprehended there in 1745, while saying mass, and taken to Edinburgh in his sacerdotal vestments. After much suffering, and several years spent abroad, he came back to Scotland, and lived with his nephew at Inveray.—Oliver, *Collections S.J.*, p. 6.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Alias *Hatmaker*, one of the few priests who escaped arrest in 1746. He died in 1773.—TRANSLATOR.

he [the bishop] had received letters as to the promised assistance, he hastened to notify the fact to the priests, whom in consequence he has this year delayed to visit, inasmuch as, seeing their hopes frustrated, they not unnaturally complained that they had been neglected and deceived; while there were not wanting those who openly declared that it could never be that our most gracious Protectors would have so long deferred the necessary remedies for these urgent needs if the true state of the mission had been properly set before them. And, indeed, it is certain that in all former time this mission was in such esteem and favour with the Holy See that it never implored help in vain in its necessities or troubles. Nor are we now conscious of any crime on account of which we deserve to be repulsed. But if we have haply sinned in ignorance, we beg that it may be made known to us, that we may be justly punished unless we amend. If, however, the Bishop of Misinopolis is in any way the cause or the occasion of this disturbance, why should he not be cast into the sea that so the storm may cease? happy if by this or any other means, nay, even by his death, he may restore tranquillity to the Church. If he be guilty, why should he be borne? if innocent, why punished? for hardly could a greater punishment be inflicted than to be abandoned by our most eminent Protectors. When, after the death of James, Bishop of Nicopolis, of pious memory, he was compelled to undertake the whole burden alone, he protested that he was not only unworthy but also altogether incapable of bearing it, as indeed he would never have dared to do unless relying on the benevolence, leaning on the authority, and sustained by the influence of their Eminences. Without this support, he will be obliged to lay it down, after labouring to the best of his power for some forty years in the cause of religion.

If, however, it seem good to the S. Congregation to demand his further ministry, he does not refuse to undergo the labour as far as his strength will permit, provided only that he is

supported by their Eminences' protection. For this end certain things are necessarily required; the first being that the most pernicious faction which has too long disturbed our peace should at length be absolutely put an end to by decree of the supreme tribunal. It will be comparatively easy now to repress this growing evil, which later on, if the matter is delayed, and it is allowed to increase and prevail, it will be hardly possible ever to eradicate. In this affair, which is of so great importance, our mission has long ago entreated, and does by the present deputation and by this letter now beseech you, in union with the prayers and tears of all the bishops in this realm, and especially of the late most vigilant pastor James, Bishop of Nicopolis, of pious memory, who was so esteemed by the Holy See, who merited so well of this mission (of which he knew so well and took so to heart all the needs), and who appears worthy to have some consideration paid to his last petition, which may be justly considered the dying wish of that great bishop. And we ask leave to commend to you most earnestly Mr Patrick Leith, our appointed delegate in this cause.

Moreover, it is necessary, as our former letters have stated, that a coadjutor should be granted to this vicariate by the Holy See. It is certain that when the late Bishop of Nicopolis obtained this favour, he was some years younger than the Bishop of Misinopolis now is, and much stronger both in mind and in body: besides, in our present most serious troubles, there is a more grave necessity for such a measure. Lastly, it is needful that the proper remedies should be applied without delay to the evils under which clergy and people have been, and still are, suffering; for our little bark, albeit much tossed about by the waves, is by the singular goodness of God not yet overturned. If, however, it be abandoned by the Holy See, needs must that it perish. Therefore we again and again entreat our most gracious Protectors, with all possible humility, to raise up the bishops and clergy who have so long lain prostrate at their feet, and to deign speedily

to take pity on and assist this long afflicted Church, lest the remedy, if further delayed, chance to be applied too late.—That Almighty God may long preserve your Eminences in safety to this mission, and to the whole Christian world, is the most fervent prayer of, your Eminences' most humble and obedient servant,

✠ Alexander, Bishop of Misinopolis,
Vicar-Apostolic in the Lowlands of Scotland.

December 13, 1747.

XVII. (p. 198).

Report of Bishops Macdonald and Smith (Vicars-Apostolic) to Propaganda. Edinburgh, November 1, 1753.[1]

(*Archiv. Propag. Scozia, Scrittur. riferit.* ii., 1753.)

Most Eminent and Reverend Lords,

During the past year both the vicars-apostolic wrote to your Eminences conjointly. The Bishop of Misinopolis afterwards sent two letters, but he is still ignorant whether they have reached you. The Bishop of Diana, exposed to many and continual perils by land and sea, and persuaded by the advice of friends, was compelled to yield to necessity and to make his escape for a time, but with the intention of returning to his people as soon as possible. And now that these evil times have brought us again together, it is a pleasure to us to unite in writing to the Sacred Congregation.

For some years past we have been suffering more than ordinary persecution. Sometimes, indeed, it happens by the mercy of God that the excessive virulence of our enemies is somewhat relaxed; but then, under the instigation of malevolent persons, it suddenly breaks out with new violence: the soldiers too, in hopes of gaining as much money as they know has already been paid to their comrades for

[1] Translated from the Latin original.

captured priests, are constantly endeavouring to lay hands on the clergy. Father John Farquharson, S.J., was committed to prison, but on giving bail was set at liberty; now, however, the recognisance having been forfeited, it is uncertain how the affair will end. Mr Alex. Macdonald was apprehended in mistake for the Bishop of Diana, whom the soldiers were after, and was placed in confinement; but he also has been given his liberty, on a friend giving security to pay a large sum to the authorities in case he did not present himself for judgment within a certain time, in which event he would certainly be proscribed. Very lately, in the county of Banff, where there are a great many Catholics, the judge despatched a company of soldiers to arrest four priests, all of whom, however, by the help of God, happily escaped, although still in great danger; meanwhile he ordered certain houses, in which religious meetings were held, to be closed and sealed up, a fine of four hundred scudi being fixed as a penalty for the celebration of mass there in future. In these troubles we do not complain of the highest authorities of the realm, whose moderation, on the contrary, we gratefully acknowledge, for they always profess themselves unwilling to persecute any one for the sake of religion. Their indulgence, however, profits us but little, since the inferior officials, and even the common soldiers, do not cease to harass us. Nor, assuredly, can we look for peace so long as our persecutors have hope of reward. God grant us patience, so long as He wills us to suffer.

Would that, with the increase of evils without, our internal troubles were diminishing! but, sad to say, we see that discipline is becoming relaxed in these calamitous times. The vicars-apostolic have long been thinking how best to repair this evil; and now, a number of prudent priests having met and taken counsel together, we have agreed as to certain remedies. Among other things, we undertake ourselves to observe, and have proposed to the missionaries also to observe, the excellent regulations not long ago laid down by our most holy

lord [the Pope] for the English missions;[1] and we earnestly entreat that these may be extended to Scotland. This is also looked for by the superior of our Jesuits, to whom we have shown the regulations, and who has already promised to observe them himself in future. If the Fathers of the Society had complied before with the request of the late very kind Bishop of Nicopolis, who asked for the transference to some other station of a certain over-zealous member of their body, many scandals would have been avoided. . . . In his place has succeeded a good and peaceable man, as are also the rest; and we hope, if only Father Tyrie would keep quiet, to enjoy, with the help of our most eminent Protectors, our former tranquillity. . . .

Some months ago the Bishop of Diana, weighed down by cares, fell sick and was very near death; nor does he yet enjoy sufficiently good health to be equal to his most heavy burden. As for the Bishop of Misinopolis, worn out by labour, anxiety, and age, he has been suffering from a sickness more prolonged than ever before, and now after a brief interval he feels that it has returned and is daily increasing; nor can an old man of seventy look for much relief, nor for the strength needful for discharging duties so manifold and so important. We both humbly entreat, therefore, that for the good of religion another bishop may be granted as speedily as possible.

We beg also of our most eminent Protectors, that they will be graciously pleased to take such measures as in their prudence may seem good, for the better utilising the Scottish Benedictine monks in Germany in the cause of religion and their country; for when we asked for labourers from thence to assist us, the Abbot of Ratisbon replied that their missionary funds had been lost, and that, consequently, they could not send subjects to Scotland to be supported at their own cost. But how is anything to be spared to them from the

[1] The allusion is to the regulations for the English missions issued by Pope Benedict XIV., May 30, 1753.

scanty allowance of the secular clergy, who can themselves hardly be supplied with the barest necessaries? It is for this reason that several of them make frequent complaints of the vicars-apostolic, as though they had never sufficiently represented to our most gracious Protectors the sufferings of the missionaries. But as we have done this so often, we are ashamed and reluctant to repeat it here. This, however, we may be allowed to observe: one of their number, whom it little becomes to act thus, is constantly crying out (and also exciting others) about the distribution of the last grant of 200 scudi, which, nevertheless, was made in accordance with the intention and desire of the benefactors. Therefore we again and again implore our most gracious Patrons, with all possible humility, to deign to have compassion on this afflicted Church.—And that Almighty God may long preserve you in safety to the whole Christian world, and to our missions in particular, is the most fervent prayer of, your Eminences' most obedient humble servants,

✠ Hugh, Bishop of Diana,
Vic.-Apost. in the Highlands of Scotland.
✠ Alexander, Bishop of Misinopolis,
Vic.-Apost. in the Lowlands of Scotland.

Edinburgh, *November* 1, 1753.

XVIII. (p. 208).

Extract from the Report of Mgr. Lercari, pro-Nuncio at Paris, to the Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda, as to the Scotch College at Paris.[1]

(*Archiv. Vatic., Nuntiatura di Francia, tom.* 262.)

Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lord,

I have up to now been in search of information to verify the reports already made to the S. Congregation of Propaganda

[1] Translated from the Italian original. Lercari was in charge of the Paris

respecting disorders in the Scotch College here. With regard to their teaching, I am able to inform your Eminence that I find that before the promulgation of the constitution *Unigenitus* pure Jansenism was taught; and since the constitution was published, not only has the College given no sign of submission, but the superiors have shown themselves openly opposed to it, and had even the temerity, in the year 1718, to appeal to a future Council. A proof of the truth of this is that their act of appeal having been afterwards produced at an assembly of the French clergy, the College was forthwith deprived of the annual pension which had previously been paid to it. At that time Charles Whiteford was procurator of the College, and Thomas Innes, prefect of studies. Thomas, later, resigned that office to his brother George, and there is also there Louis Innes, their uncle, known as the Abbé, and formerly almoner to James II. These three Inneses, all alike Jansenists, joined Whiteford in the appeal, and they have always resided in the College. There is no doubt that Whiteford has recalled his appeal, but the act has not been published in Paris, where he would be bound to repair the scandal which he has caused. It is not known that George Innes, or Alexander Gordon, the present prefect of studies, has made any act of acceptation of the bull, so that little regard should be paid to the letter subscribed by them in 1735, and sent in order to justify themselves in the eyes of the S. Congregation; and the more so, as they keep up the same correspondence as before with the Jansenists, and are entirely dependent on Thomas and Louis Innes, the latter being themselves appellants, and retaining absolute power over the community, in which, according to the opinion of all the Catholics of Paris, Jansenism is taught just as much as it formerly was.

nunciature during the absence of the nuncio, Raniero Dolci, titular Archbishop of Rhodes. The latter was appointed by Clement XII. to the Archbishopric of Ferrara, and was raised to the purple on December 20, 1737. In 1750 Lercari held the office of Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda. See Cardella, *Memorie Storiche*, tom. viii. p. 283.

The character of Thomas Innes is sufficiently well known. Not only as prefect of studies did he insinuate the very contrary to Catholic doctrines, but being at the same time confessor at St Barbe, he brought thither his students to perform their spiritual exercises, and so to receive the Jansenistic instructions which were at that time being given there; nor is it known that he has since changed his opinions.

Louis Innes is still better known. He has perverted the Scotch, who are residing in the royal palace at St Germain-en-Laye, and he is at this moment the director of all those families, and regarded by them all as their apostle. Among his disciples is my Lord Milton, and, to still greater extent, his relation, my Lord Perth, who is so far committed in favour of Jansenism, that he would not even be present at the mission given last year by the Jesuits in the city of St Germain, retiring during that time to Paris, to the Scotch College. From this it can be inferred how much harm has been, and is still being done by this Louis in the College, where he is looked on as an oracle.

Were it true, as has been represented to the S. Congregation in defence of the superiors of the College, that when Cardinal de Noailles[1] issued his appeal they boldly opposed it, and did not adhere to the appeal, the assembly of clergy would not have deprived them of their pension. I do not find any evidence for the story of the law which they allege was made by them at that time, against any one refusing to pay due submission and obedience to the constitution *Unigenitus*, and to the other Apostolic decrees; and although, after the resolution of the clergy of which I have spoken, two or three students were expelled from the College for having spoken everywhere in unmeasured terms against the constitution, yet I am told that this was universally believed to be a mere outward formality, and not a sincere proof of due submission.

[1] The relation of this prelate to the Jansenistic movement has been treated by Schrill in *The Constitution Unigenitus:* Freiburg, 1876.

On the other hand, I find the fact well authenticated, that simultaneously with the commencement of the episcopate of the present Archbishop of Paris, the superiors of the Scotch College sent several of their students to receive orders outside this diocese, among them being the well-known John Gordon, who, in order not to be obliged to subscribe the formulary here, went to receive the subdiaconate from Mgr. Gordon. It is also, I find, only too true that John Tyrie received erroneous impressions in the College here, before he went to Scotland and apostatised; and that as it is generally the case that the students who come from the College at Rome remain here at least a year, to be instructed in controversy and morals, which of course they require for their missionary duties, they become in consequence imbued with the errors of Jansenism.[1] . . .

It is well known that the notorious Scotchman, Law,[2] who possessed such influence in France at the time of the Regency, gave to the College a large quantity of bank shares or notes; but there is no doubt that these have had the same fate as other property of the same kind in this country, and that very little of it is now left.

Your Eminence cannot imagine what difficulty there is in obtaining any information respecting the College, whose administrators make a secret of everything. . . . Notwithstanding this excessive caution, we have learned sufficient from other sources to know that the College is in need of complete reform, and that the first measure of reform should be the removal of the three Inneses already mentioned. . . .

There are but few missionaries [in Scotland], and of these a large proportion are infected with Jansenism. Among the most notorious are Alexander Drummond, who refused to

[1] The next sentences (omitted in the above extract) in Lercari's report contain certain charges against George Innes with regard to the administration of the property of the Scotch College.

[2] The allusion is of course to the famous Scotch financier, the founder, during the regency of Philip of Orleans, of the French National Bank, whose subsequent collapse inflicted such unspeakable misery on the country.

subscribe the formulary; Andrew Hassett and Robert Gordon, authors of a catechism since condemned in Rome; George Gordon, of Scalan, who has published a letter contesting the authority of the Church; Patrick Leith, known in Edinburgh by the impious lectures which he has delivered against the Apostolic decrees; George Duncan, brought up in the seminary of Scalan, and taught by Innes at Paris; and John Gordon, who refused to sign the formulary, and is now publishing in Scotland an account of the pretended miracles of Monsieur Paris.[1] . . .

It is believed that he is not untainted by Jansenism, and consequently it is not unreasonably feared that as regards doctrine the young men will be badly educated. Mgr. Gordon, vicar-apostolic of the Lowlands, does not fail to give grounds for deeming that he also shares the infection. According to report, he has led away many of the Catholics there: he has employed on the mission disaffected ecclesiastics, without first assuring himself of their submission to the Constitution. He permits Catholics to read books written by Jansenists, notwithstanding that many of the more fervent Catholics have represented to him the evil that results from such permission: he gives every token of partiality for the suspected clergy: he keeps up a close correspondence with Thomas and Louis Innes: he has constantly sent youths to the College at Paris, although he cannot have been in ignorance of the errors taught there: he has examined and approved of the beforementioned catechism, which has already been condemned in Rome: he has opposed, more than any one else, the subscription to the formula sent from Rome;—and finally, he has chosen for his coadjutor Mr Alexander Smith, a man much suspected in these parts; and fearing to find his choice opposed, he has obtained his appointment, and consecrated him, without any of the Catholics knowing anything about it. . . .

[1] Lercari proceeds, in the passage immediately following this, to state that the Bishop of Nicopolis (Gordon) wishes to procure help to found a seminary.

I should not omit to mention that, although we have no information of his [Bishop Smith] having joined in the appeal, yet it is known from other sources that during the time of his residence in Paris he was regarded as a Jansenist, and since his departure thence he has continued to correspond with many of those disaffected professors who were expelled from the Sorbonne; so that there is assuredly ground for fear that, were he to succeed Mgr. Gordon as vicar-apostolic, the mission would greatly suffer. . . . For the rest, I hear that the mission is in a very bad state, and that to make sure of the orthodoxy of the clergy it would be very salutary to oblige them to subscribe the formulary. I am aware that this has been already sent to Scotland, and that up to now it has remained unenforced, inasmuch as it was feared to excite by such a novelty the attention of the Government, and to draw down some persecution on the Catholics; but on the other hand it has been represented to me that this objection was put forward by an artifice of the Jansenists themselves. . . . I hear further, from persons of much credit, that the division of the mission which took place in the year 1734 has not resulted in the advantages that were hoped for, and that all the more fervent missionaries are now desirous of the reunion as before.

Lastly, Mgr. Magdonol [Macdonald] has been spoken of to me with the highest praise, as well with regard to doctrine, as to his true zeal for religion, so that the most entire reliance can be placed in his orthodoxy. . . .

NICCOLÒ LERCARI.

PARIS, *March* 4, 1737.

XIX. (p. 308).

Extract from the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII., *ex supremo apostolatus apice*, restoring the Hierarchy in Scotland, March 4, 1878.[1]

But Pius IX., of happy memory, had exceedingly at heart the restoration of the illustrious Scottish Church to its pristine beauty and comeliness. For the bright example of his predecessors urged him on, they having, as it were, smoothed the way for the advancement of the work. And in truth, having on the one hand considered attentively the whole state of the Catholic religion in Scotland, and the daily increase of the number of the faithful, of sacred workers, churches, missions, and religious houses, and like institutions, as well as the sufficiency of temporal means; on the other hand, being aware that owing to the liberty which the renowned British Government grants to Catholics, any impediment there might be in the way of giving back to the Scots the ordinary rule of bishops was lessening day by day, the said Pontiff was persuaded that the restoration of the Episcopal Hierarchy should be no longer deferred. Meanwhile the vicars-apostolic themselves, and very many of the clergy and laity, men conspicuous by noble birth and virtue, besought him earnestly to delay no longer to satisfy their earnest wishes in this matter. This humble request was again laid before him when a chosen band from every rank in the said country, having at their head our venerable brother, John Strain, Bishop of Abila, *in partibus Infidelium*, and Vicar-Apostolic of the Eastern District, came to this city to congratulate him on the fiftieth anniversary of his episcopal consecration. When the matter was in this position, the said Pius IX. intrusted it, as its importance demanded, for full discussion to our venerable brethren, Cardinals of Holy Roman Church of the Congregation Propagandæ Fidei, and their opinion

[1] Authorised Translation (Edinburgh: Miller, 1878).

confirmed him more and more in the resolution he had formed. But whilst he rejoiced that he had come to the completion of a work long and greatly wished for, he was called by a just Judge to receive the crown of justice.

What, therefore, our predecessor was hindered by death from bringing to a conclusion, God, who is plentiful in mercy, and glorious in all His works, has granted us to effect, so that we might, as it were, inaugurate with a happy omen our Pontificate, which in these calamitous times we have received with trembling. Wherefore, after having acquired a full knowledge of the entire matter, we have willingly deemed that what had been decreed by the lately deceased Pius IX. should be put in execution. Therefore, raising up our eyes to the Father of light, from whom cometh every best gift and every perfect gift, we have invoked the aid of divine grace, praying also for the help of the Blessed Virgin Mary, conceived without stain; of blessed Joseph, her spouse, and Patron of the Universal Church; of the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, of Andrew and of the other saints whom the Scots venerate as patrons, in order that they, by their suffrages before God, might aid us to bring the said matter to a prosperous issue.

Having therefore premised these things, by an act of our own will, with certain knowledge, and acting in virtue of the apostolic authority which we possess over the whole Church, to the greater glory of Almighty God, and the exaltation of the Catholic faith, we ordain and decree that in the kingdom of Scotland, according to what is prescribed by the canon laws, the hierarchy of ordinary bishops, who shall be named from the sees which by this our constitution we erect, shall be revived and shall constitute an ecclesiastical province. Moreover, we ordain that, for the present, six sees shall be erected, and these we will to be founded: to wit, St Andrews, with the addition of the title of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Whithorn or Galloway; likewise Argyll and the Isles.

Recalling to mind the illustrious past in the history of the Church of St Andrews, and taking into account the existing capital of the said kingdom, and weighing other considerations as well, calling up, as it were, from the grave, the said renowned see, we cannot but raise it, or restore it, with the addition of the title of Edinburgh, to the rank of the metropolitan or archiepiscopal dignity, to which it had formerly been raised by our predecessor, Sixtus IV., of venerable memory, and assign to it, as by these presents, by virtue of our apostolic authority, we do assign, add and give unto it four of the above-named sees as suffragans—namely, Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Whithorn or Galloway, Argyll and the Isles. As regards the See of Glasgow, considering the antiquity, importance, and nobility of that city, and specially in view of the highly flourishing state of religion therein, and the archiepiscopal pre-eminence conferred upon it by Innocent VIII., we have thought it altogether fitting to decree to give to its bishop the name and insignia of an archbishop, as also, by these presents, we give; in such manner, however, that, until it shall have been otherwise ordained by us or our successors, he shall not receive, beyond the prerogative of the name and honour, any right proper to a true archbishop and metropolitan.[1] We will, also, and ordain that the Archbishop of Glasgow, as long as he shall be without suffragans, shall be present with the other bishops in the provincial synod of Scotland.

Now in the aforesaid archiepiscopal or metropolitan See of St Andrews and Edinburgh shall be included the counties of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Haddington, Berwick, Selkirk, Peebles, Roxburgh, and the southern part of Fife, which lies to the right of the river Eden; also the county of Stirling, saving the territories of Baldernock and East Kilpatrick.

In the archdiocese of Glasgow shall be included the

[1] Cf. Ferraris, *Prompta Bibliotheca*, tit. *Archiep.*, art. 1, sect. 4. "Dantur archiepiscopi quidem qui proprie non sunt Metropolitani, ex quo nullum habent suffraganeum."

counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton, the territories of Baldernock and East Kilpatrick, situated in the county of Stirling, the northern portion of the county of Ayr, which is separated from the southern portion of the same by the Lugton Water flowing into the river Garnock; also the islands of Great and Little Cumbrae.

In the diocese of Aberdeen shall be contained the counties of Aberdeen, Kincardine, Banff, Elgin or Moray, Nairn, Ross (except Lewis in the Hebrides), Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, the Orkney and Shetland Islands; finally, that portion of the county of Inverness which lies to the north of a straight line drawn from the most northerly point of Loch Luing to the eastern boundary of the said county of Inverness, where the counties of Aberdeen and Banff join.

In the diocese of Dunkeld shall be included the counties of Perth, Forfar, Clackmannan, Kinross, and the northern portion of the county of Fife lying to the left of the river Eden; also those portions of the county of Stirling which are disjoined from it, and are surrounded by the counties of Perth and Clackmannan.

The diocese of Whithorn or Galloway shall contain the counties of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigtown, and that portion of Ayr which stretches southwards to the left of the Lugton Water flowing into the river Garnock.

Finally, the diocese of Argyll and the Isles shall embrace the county of Argyll, the islands of Bute and Arran, the Hebrides, and the southern portion of the county of Inverness which stretches from Loch Luing to the eastern boundary of the said county, according to the line above described.

Thus, therefore, in the kingdom of Scotland, besides the honorary archbishopric of Glasgow there shall be one only ecclesiastical province, consisting of one archbishop or metropolitan and four suffragan bishops.

We doubt not but that the new prelates, following in the footsteps of their predecessors who by their virtues rendered the Church of Scotland illustrious, will use every endeavour

to make the name of the Catholic religion in their country shine with still greater brightness, and to promote the salvation of souls and the increase of the divine worship, in the best manner possible. Wherefore, we from now declare that we reserve to ourselves, and to our successors in the Apostolic See, to divide when needful the aforesaid dioceses into others, to increase their number, to change their boundaries, and to freely execute whatever else may seem to us in the Lord most conducive to the propagation of the orthodox faith in the same.

And as we see clearly that it will be of great benefit to the said churches, we will and ordain that their prelates shall never fail to transmit to our Congregation de Propaganda Fide, which hitherto has bestowed special and assiduous care upon the said region, reports upon their sees and flocks committed to their care; and shall inform us through the said Congregation concerning whatever they may deem it necessary or useful to decree in fulfilment of their pastoral duty, and for the increase of their churches. Let them remember, moreover, that they are bound to send in this report, as well as to visit the tombs of the holy apostles, every four years, as is enacted in the constitution of Sixtus V., of sacred memory, dated 20th December 1585, beginning *Romanus Pontifex.* In all other matters, likewise, which belong to the same pastoral office, the above-named archbishops and bishops shall enjoy all the rights and faculties which the Catholic bishops of other nations do enjoy or can now or hereafter enjoy; and shall be bound by the same obligations which, through the same common and general discipline of the Catholic Church, bind other bishops. Whatever, therefore, either owing to the ancient state of the churches of Scotland, or to the subsequent condition of the missions by special constitutions or privileges or particular customs, may have been in force, now that the circumstances are changed, shall not henceforward have any power to convey any right or to impose any obligation. And for this

end, in order that no doubt may arise in future on this head, we, by the plenitude of our apostolical authority, deprive the said special statutes, ordinances, and privileges of whatever kind, and customs, at however a remote or immemorial time they may have been introduced, and are now in force, of all power of inducing any obligation or conveying any right.

Wherefore it shall be in the power of the Scottish prelates to decree whatever is requisite for the execution of the common law, and whatever is competent to the episcopal authority according to the common discipline of the Church, let them feel assured that we shall willingly lend them the aid of our apostolic authority in whatever may seem conducive towards increasing the glory of God's name and helping on the spiritual welfare of souls. And as an earnest of our goodwill towards the beloved daughter of the Holy See, the Church of Scotland, we will and declare that the bishops, when they have been invested with the name and rights of ordinary bishops, must by no means be deprived of those advantages and more ample faculties which they formerly enjoyed along with the title of vicars of ourselves and the Holy See. For it is not right that they should suffer any loss from what, in compliance with the wishes of the Scottish Catholics, has been decreed by us for the greater good of religion in their country. And whereas the condition of Scotland is such that adequate means for the support of the clergy and the various needs of each church are wanting, we have a certain hope that our beloved sons in Christ, to whose earnest wish for the restoration of the Episcopal Hierarchy we have acceded, will continue to aid those pastors whom we shall place over them with still more ample alms and offerings, whereby they may be able to provide for the restoration of the episcopal sees, the splendour of the churches and of the divine worship, the support of the clergy and the poor, and the other needs of the Church.

But now we turn with most humble prayer to Him in whom it hath pleased God the Father in the dispensation of

the fulness of time to restore all things, beseeching Him who has begun the good work to perfect it, confirm it, and strengthen it, and to give, to all those whose duty it is to execute the things which we have decreed, the light and strength of heavenly grace, so that the Episcopal Hierarchy restored by us in the kingdom of Scotland may be for the greater good of Catholic religion. For this end, also, we invoke as intercessors with our Saviour Jesus Christ, His most blessed Mother, blessed Joseph His reputed father, the blessed apostles Peter and Paul; likewise St Andrew, whom Scotland venerates with special devotion, and the rest of the saints, and especially St Margaret, Queen of Scotland, the glory and pillar of the kingdom, that they may benignantly favour that Church now rising again from its ashes.

Finally, we decree this our letter can never at any time be charged with the fault termed *subreptio obreptio*,[1] or with any defect of our intention, or with any other defect, but shall always be held valid and firm, and shall obtain effect in all things, and shall be inviolably observed. Notwithstanding apostolic edicts and general or special sanctions published in synodal, provincial, and universal councils, and notwithstanding the rights and privileges of the ancient sees of Scotland, and of the missions and apostolic vicariates afterwards constituted therein, and notwithstanding the rights and privileges of all churches or pious institutes whatsoever, even although ratified by oath, or by apostolic or any other confirmation, and all things to the contrary notwithstanding, we expressly abrogate all these things in so far as they contradict the foregoing, although for their abrogation they would require special mention, or any other formality, however particular. We decree, moreover, that whatever be done to the contrary knowingly or ignorantly by any person in the name

[1] *Subreptio* or *obreptio*. These are legal terms for which there are no adequate words to give their exact meaning, which is, taking away craftily, little by little, or adding anything in the same way.—[Note by Translator of the Papal letter.]

of any authority whatsoever, shall be null and void. We will also that copies, even printed, of this letter, when subscribed by a public notary, and stamped with the seal of an ecclesiastical dignitary, shall have the same credit as would be given to the expression of our will by the exhibition of this diploma itself.

Let no man, therefore, dare to infringe or rashly gainsay this page of our erection, constitution, restoration, institution, assignation, addition, attribution, decree, mandate, and will. If any one should presume to attempt this, let him know that he shall incur indignation of Almighty God, and of His blessed apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome, at St Peter's, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven, the fourth of the nones of March [1] [4th March 1878], in the first year of our Pontificate.

F. Cardinal Asquini.

C. Cardinal Sacconi, Pro-Datarius.

Visa de Curia J. de Aquila e Vicecomitibus. Reg. in Secretaria Brevium.

[1] In the expedition of bulls, the Pontifical Datary employs the Florentine mode of reckoning (*calculus Florentinus*), according to which the year commences, not on January 1, but on the following 25th of March.

XX.

Bishops in Scotland, from 1695 to 1890.

[From 1653, when the Scottish clergy were incorporated into a missionary body by decree of Propaganda, until 1695, the Catholics of Scotland were governed by the following *Prefects-Apostolic:* William Ballantyne (or *Bellenden*), 1653-61; Alexander Winster (or *Dunbar*), 1662-68, 1672-94; John Walker (or *Ross*), 1668-71.]

Name.	Title.	Consecrated.	Died.
I.—Vicars-Apostolic, 1695-1731.			
1. Thomas Nicolson	Peristachium	Feb. 27, 1695	Oct. 23, 1718
2. James Gordon	Nicopolis	April 11, 1706	March 1, 1746
3. John Wallace, *Coadj.*	Cyrrha	Oct. 2, 1720	July 11, 1733
II.—Lowland District, 1731-1827.			
James Gordon	...	...	...
4. Alexander Smith	Misinopolis	Nov. 13, 1735	Aug. 21, 1767
5. James Grant	Sinita	Nov. 13, 1755	Dec. 3, 1778
6. George Hay	Daulis	May 21, 1769	Oct. 15, 1811
7. John Geddes, *Coadj.*	Morocco	Nov. 30, 1780	Feb. 11, 1799
8. Alexander Cameron	Maximianopolis	Oct. 28, 1798	Feb. 7, 1828
Highland District, 1731-1827.			
9. Hugh Macdonald	Diana	Oct. 2, 1731	March 12, 1773
10. John Macdonald	Tiberiopolis	Sept. 27, 1761	May 9, 1779
11. Alexander Macdonald	Polemo	March 12, 1780	Sept. 9, 1791
12. John Chisholm	Oria	Feb. 12, 1792	July 8, 1814
13. Æneas Chisholm	Diocæsarea	Sept. 15, 1805	July 31, 1818
14. Ranald Macdonald	Aeryndela	Feb. 25, 1820	Sept. 20, 1832

Name.	Title.	Consecrated.	Died.
III.—Western District, 1828-1878.			
Ranald Macdonald . .	...	...	...
15. Andrew Scott . . .	Eretria . .	Sept. 21, 1828	Dec. 4. 1846
16. John Murdoch . . .	Castabala . .	Oct. 20, 1833	Dec. 15, 1865
17. Alexander Smith, *Coadj.* .	Parium . .	Oct. 3, 1847	June 15, 1861
18. John Gray	Hypsopolis . .	Oct. 19, 1862	Jan. 14, 1872
19. James Lynch, *Coadj.* .	Arcadiopolis . Kildare & Leighlin, *Coadj.*	Nov. 4, 1866 April 4, 1869	*Trans. to Kild. and Leigh.*
20. Charles Eyre, *Archbp.* .	Anazarba . . Glasgow . .	Jan. 31, 1869 March 15, 1878	*Translated to Glasgow.*
Eastern District, 1828-1878.			
21. Alexander Paterson . .	Cybistra . .	Aug. 15, 1816	Oct. 30, 1831
22. Andrew Carruthers . .	Ceramis . .	Jan. 13, 1833	May 24, 1852
23. James Gillis . . .	Limyra . .	July 22, 1838	Feb. 24, 1864
24. John Strain	Abila . . . St Andrews and Edinburgh	Sept. 25, 1864 March 15, 1878	*Translated to St Andrews & Edinburgh.*
Northern District, 1828-1878.			
25. James Kyle . . .	Germanicia . .	Sept. 28, 1828	Feb. 23, 1869
26. John Macdonald . .	Nicopolis . . Aberdeen . .	Feb. 24, 1869 March 15, 1878	*Translated to Aberdeen*
IV.—Hierarchy Restored, March 4, 1878.			
John Strain, *Archbp.* .	St Andrews and Edinburgh	*Translated from* Abila	July 2, 1883
Charles Eyre, *Archbp.* .	Glasgow . .	*Translated from* Anazarba	...
27. William Smith, *Archbp.*	St Andrews and Edinburgh	Oct. 28, 1885	...
John Macdonald . .	Aberdeen . .	*Translated from* Nicopolis	Feb. 4, 1889
28. Angus Macdonald . .	Argyll & the Isles	May 23, 1878	...
29. John Maclachlan . .	Galloway . .	May 23, 1878	...
30. George Rigg . . .	Dunkeld . .	May 26, 1878	Jan. 18, 1887
31. Colin Grant . . .	Aberdeen . .	Aug. 13, 1889	Sept. 26, 1889
32. Hugh Macdonald, *C.SS.R.*	Do.	Oct. 23, 1890	...
33. James Smith . . .	Dunkeld . .	Oct. 28, 1890	...

XXI.

List of the Religious Houses in Scotland before the Reformation.

1. Canons of St Augustine (Black Canons).

   Abbeys (5).—Cambuskenneth, Holyrood, Inchaffray, Jedburgh, Scone.

   Priories (22). — Abernethy, Blantyre, Canonby, Colonsay, Crusay, Inchkenneth, Inchmahome, Isle of May, Lochleven, Loch Tay, Monymusk, Oransay, Pittenweem, Portmoke, Restinot, Roseneath, Rothesay, Rowadil, St Andrews (Cathedral Priory), St Mary's Isle, Scarinch, Strathfillan.

2. Benedictines (Black Monks).

   Abbeys (6).—Arbroath, Dunfermline, Kelso, Kilwinning, Lindores, Old Melrose.

   Priories (5).—Coldingham, Fyvie, Lesmahagow, Tyninghame, Urquhart.

   (*Cluniacs.*) *Abbeys* (3).—Paisley, Crossraguel, Iona (held with the Bishopric of the Isles).

   Priory.—Fail.[1]

3. Carmelites (White Friars).—Aberdeen, Banff, Berwick, Dunbar, Edinburgh, Inverberry, Irwyn, Linlithgow, Lufness, Queensferry, Roxburgh, Tylilum.

4. Carthusians.—Mackerstone, Perth.

5. Cistercians (White Monks).

   Abbeys (11).—Balmerino, Culross, Cupar, Deer, Dundrennan, Glenluce, Kinloss, Melrose, Newbotle, Sweetheart, Sandale.

   Priories (3).—Friar's Carse, Hassingdean, Mauchline.

6. Dominicans (Black, or Preaching Friars).—Aberdeen, Ayr, Berwick, Cupar-Fife, Dundee, Dysart, Edinburgh, Elgin, Glasgow, Haddington, Inverness, Linlithgow, Montrose, Perth, St Andrews, St Monan's (Fife), St Ninian's (Stirling), Wigtown.

7. Franciscans (Grey Friars or Minorites).

   (*a*) *Conventuals.*—Berwick, Douglas, Dumfries, Dundee, Haddington, Innerkeithing, Roxburgh.

   (*b*) *Observants.*—Aberdeen, Aberdour, Ayr, Banff, Edinburgh, Elgin, Glasgow, Jedburgh, Kirkcudbright, Lanark, Perth, St Andrews, Stirling.

[1] Included by most writers among the Cluniac Houses; but Chalmers is probably right in stating that the only monastery at Fail was the Trinitarian (red) Friary founded by Andrew Bruce in 1252.—Translator.

8. Gilbertines.—Dullmullen (afterwards Cluniac).
9. Hospitallers of St Anthony.—Leith.
10. Knights Hospitallers of St John.—Ancrum, St John's Hill (Edinburgh), Kinkell, Rothwell, Torphichen.
11. Knights Templars.—Aberdeen, Aboyne, Adamton, Ballantradoch (now Arniston), Edinburgh, Inchinnan (Renfrew), Maryculter, Oggerstone, St Germans, Temple (on the South Esk), Tulloch, Turriff.
12. Premonstratensians (White Canons).
    Abbeys (5).—Dryburgh, Ferne, Holywood, Soulseat, Tongland.
    Cathedral Priory.—Whithorn.
13. Trinitarians (Mathurin or Red Friars).—Aberdeen, Berwick, Brechin, Cromarty, Dornoch, Dunbar, Dundee, Dunet, Fail, Houstoun, Lufness, Peebles, Scotland's Well (Lochleven).
14. Valliscaulians.
    Abbeys (2).—Ardchattan, Pluscardine (afterwards Benedictine).
    Priory.—Beauly.

Convents of Nuns.

1. Canonesses of St Augustine.—Iona.
2. Benedictines.—Coldingham, Kilconquhar, Lincluden, North Berwick.
3. Carmelites.—Edinburgh, Maxwell.
4. Cistercians.—Coldstream, Edinburgh, Eccles (Berwick), Elbotle (Haddington), Elquho (Strathearne), Manuel (Linlithgow), Gulyne (Dirlton), Haddington, Halystan (Berwick), Perth, St Bothans (Lammermoor), South Berwick, Trefontanes (Lammermoor).
5. Dominicanesses.—Edinburgh.
6. Franciscans.—Aberdeen, Aberdour, Dundee.
7. Gilbertines.—Dullmullen (the nuns followed the Benedictine Rule).[1]

[1] The above catalogue is compiled chiefly from Walcott (*Ancient Church of Scotland*), with amendments and additions. The list given by Spottiswoode is much less complete.—Translator.

XXII.

Statistics of the Catholic Church in Scotland, 1890.

Diocese.	Catholic Population.	Churches, Chapels, and Stations.	Priests.		Elementary Schools.	Orders of Men.	Orders of Women.
			Secular.	Regular.			
St Andrews and Edinburgh.	52,000	68	50	11	38	Jesuits, Oblates of Mary Immaculate.	Franciscans, Little Sisters of the Poor, Sisters of Mercy, Ursulines of Jesus, Sisters of the Immaculate Conception.
Glasgow. .	220,000	106	121	27	198	Franciscans, Jesuits, Passionists, Lazarists, Marist Brothers.	Franciscans, Sisters of the Good Shepherd, Little Sisters of the Poor, Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of Charity, Faithful Companions of Jesus.
Aberdeen .	11,749	54	41	14	21	Benedictines.	Franciscans, Poor Sisters of Nazareth, Sisters of Mercy.
Dunkeld .	25,894	29	27	7	27	Redemptorists, Marist Brothers.	Little Sisters of the Poor, Sisters of Mercy, Ursulines of Jesus.
Galloway .	17,000	38	24	2	24	Premonstratensians, Marist Brothers.	Benedictines, Franciscans, Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of St Joseph.
Argyll and the Isles.	12,000	37	26	...	8	...	Servants of the Sacred Heart.
Total, .	338,643	332	289	61	316		

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